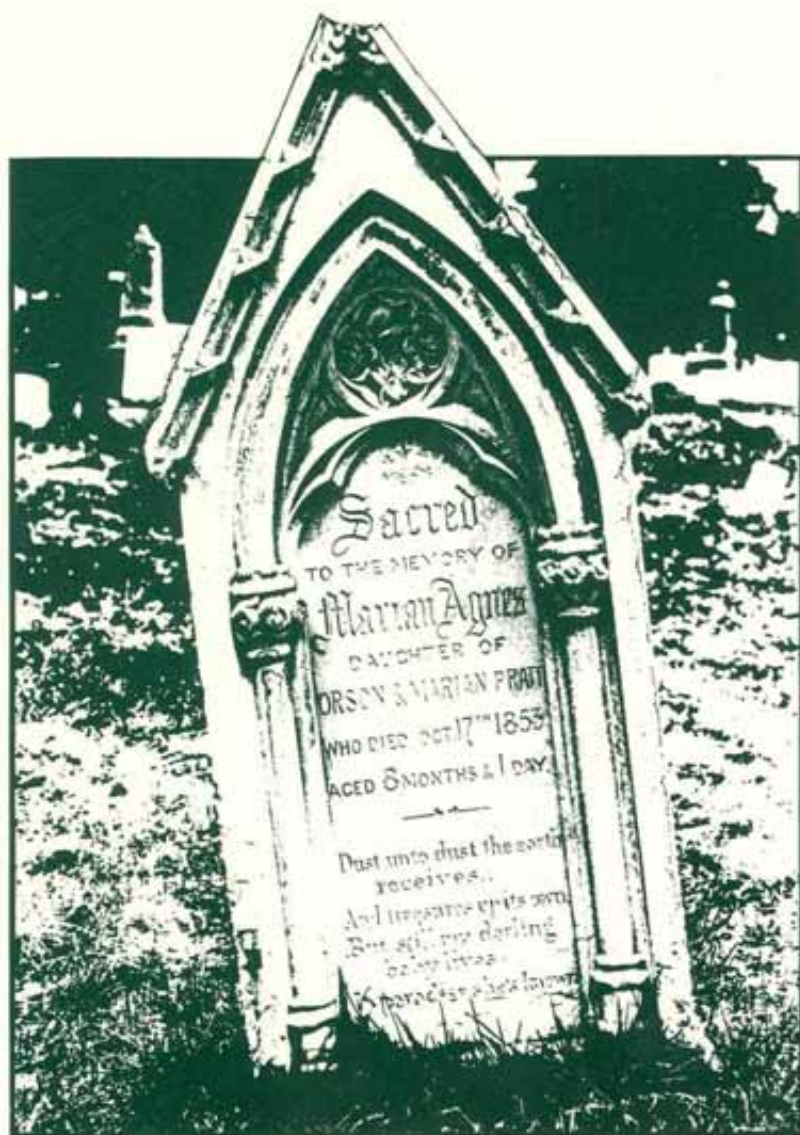


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# UTAH

## HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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The Tangible Past

# UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY



(ISSN 0042-143X)

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# Studies in Material Culture

BY THOMAS CARTER

GUEST EDITOR

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SINCE TIME IS IRREVERSIBLE," writes the historian Robert Berkhofer, "the historian knows the past only by the remains left over."<sup>1</sup> Some of the surviving evidence is written and consists of the kinds of documents historians normally rely on. Diaries, journals, court records, tax rolls, and the like are the usual sources of history. But there are other remains, more numerous and more familiar perhaps, and these are, quite simply, *things*. Houses, chairs, dishes, tools—all the things you can think of that once were part of people's everyday lives—are also part of the historical record that has come down to us through time. Although their message is not explicit, such documents—however mute they may at first appear—nevertheless have an important story to tell, and it is toward this story, the history of things, that this special issue of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* is directed.

Exploring the past through objects is called *material culture study* or *material culture*, which is often what the objects themselves are called.<sup>2</sup> The name is appropriate for it implies the existence of a fundamental relationship between the things people make, buy, and use and culture, the underlying values, beliefs, and assumptions of a society or community. Historians, folklorists, architectural historians, geographers, and others study material culture because it reflects the pattern of past life. The arrangement of rooms in a house tells us how people once lived; innovations in roof framing technology denote a progressive strain within the society; covering a rough pine cupboard with a painted mahogany veneer exposes a group's attitude toward nature; an egalitarian society is symbolized by a uniformity in furniture design; and so on.

Dr. Carter is an architectural historian with the Utah State Historical Society and also teaches in the Graduate School of Architecture at the University of Utah.

<sup>1</sup>Robert Berkhofer, Jr., *A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis* (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Useful introductions to material culture study can be found in Thomas J. Schlereth, ed., *Material Culture: A Research Guide* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1985); and Robert Blair St. George, ed., *Material Life in America, 1600-1860* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988).

The list of ways we can learn about the past through the study of material culture is endless. There are drawbacks, of course. Much has disappeared and what remains is often the most durable and most expensive, leaving the evidence skewed in favor of history's elite. Yet, in the end, the history of things offers not just another supplement to conventional historiography but a way of locating and exploring avenues of historical inquiry unknowable and unreachable through the written record.<sup>3</sup>

Despite the increased interest in material culture around the country this type of research has not made significant inroads into Utah or for that matter the West in general. There have been several studies of Utah furniture;<sup>4</sup> the state's architecture has been documented to some extent;<sup>5</sup> and some, especially the late Austin Fife, have branched out into more exotic subjects like gravestones, hay derricks, fences, and landscape features.<sup>6</sup> Still, the study of Utah material culture remains in its infancy. This issue is intended not as a definitive statement on the subject but rather as a vehicle for calling the public's attention to this new and exciting area of historical research. The contributors reflect the interdisciplinary nature of the field. Carol Edison and Elaine Thatcher are folklorists, Esther Truitt has a degree in landscape architecture, and Kirk Henrichsen is a museum curator. All bring their own experience and perspective to the subject, and this diversity lends rich variety to their respective offerings on gravestones, chairs, gardens, and pottery.

Several questions or themes are evident in these essays and are worthy of attention. First, and this is a question almost everyone asks, is there a "Mormon" style in material culture? From the evidence presented here the answer seems at once yes and no. Edison's work with gravestones suggests that distinctive Mormon iconography—the bee-

<sup>3</sup>The advantages and the limitations of material culture research are pointed out in Cary Carson, "Doing History with Material Culture," in *Material Culture and the Study of American Life*, ed. Ian M. G. Quimby (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978), pp. 41-64.

<sup>4</sup>See Connie Morningstar, *Early Utah Furniture* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1976); Nancy Richards, "Craft," in *Utah Folk Art: A Catalog of Material Culture*, ed. Hal Cannon (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), pp. 61-89; and Jonathan L. Fairbanks and Elizabeth Bidwell Bates, *American Furniture: 1620 to the Present* (New York: Richard Marek, 1981), pp. 438-42.

<sup>5</sup>A bibliography of Utah architectural studies is found in Thomas Carter and Peter Goss, *Utah's Historic Architecture, 1847-1940: A Guide* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), pp. 187-89.

<sup>6</sup>See in particular Austin E. Fife and James M. Fife, "Hay Derricks of the Great Basin and Upper Snake River Valley," in *Idaho Folklife*, ed. Louis W. Attebery (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985), pp. 2-11; Austin and Alta Fife, "Gravestone Imagery," in *Utah Folk Art*, pp. 137-49; and Austin Fife, "Western Gravestones," in *Austin E. Fife: Exploring Western Americana*, ed. Alta Fife (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1988), pp. 195-213. For a more holistic portrait of Mormon material culture, see Richard Francaviglia, *The Mormon Landscape* (New York: AMS Press, 1978).

hive, the all-seeing eye, and so forth—is found only on a minority of markers and that more conventional biblical and ubiquitous nineteenth-century mourning symbols were generally favored. Locally produced Cache Valley furniture, according to Thatcher's findings, displays a similar connection with eastern conventions, and the relatively short time span for such production was insufficient to allow a distinctive style to emerge. Henrichsen's detailed history of the Henrichsen pottery in Provo points out the success Danish immigrant potters enjoyed in meeting the utilitarian needs of the settlers, but no special pottery style emerged. Truitt, on the other hand, suggests that a Mormon style may be present but not overtly obvious. What *is* unique about Mormon material culture, these authors argue, stems from the adaptation of older and largely eastern ideas about such things as gravestones and garden space to the particular circumstances encountered in the Great Basin. One point seems clear, however, and this is a general confusion about the nature of Mormon culture itself. Are we looking at a religiously inspired communitarian society or simply another variant of middle-class America? The answer to this question is probably that it is both things at once, a stream of ambiguity that runs deeply through the artifactual record.

A second question raised by these essays is a familiar one and really has two parts. First, how did the Mormon frontier differ from other western frontiers? If it is true, as these authors intimate, that the Mormon pioneers strove for permanence, comfort, and even gentility from the beginning of settlement, then the true bourgeois identity of the group so vividly documented in the objects seems clear. And second, if there was in fact a certain connection and continuity with eastern styles and trends during the pioneer period, does it not mean that the impact of the railroad in 1869—presumed the great watershed in Utah history—needs reevaluation? Henrichsen and, to a lesser degree, Thatcher downplay the railroad's effect on the pottery and furniture industries. And it is obvious in Edison's gravestones that middle-class American fashion was not unknown in Utah Territory. The history of things, then, lacks clear junctures between the American East and the Mormon West, and between pre-railroad and post-railroad Utah. Instead there is a spirit of continuity and accommodation that can no longer be ignored.



*Figure 1. Lambert's November-December 1867 diary entries mention work on stones for the children of Isaac Brockbank, most likely the three on the left of this photo that are almost identical.*

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## Custom-made Gravestones in Early Salt Lake City: The Work of Four English Stonecarvers

BY CAROL EDISON

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Ms. Edison is folk arts coordinator for the Utah Arts Council. She wishes to acknowledge the work done in the 1960s and '70s by Maury Haseltine, Martha Schack, Mary George, Peg Billings and Jo Brooks in identifying a number of gravestones carved by the four Englishmen discussed in this article and other early Utah craftsmen.

OVER THE LAST FEW DECADES the study of gravestones has proved to be an important tool in researching and understanding more about the lives, beliefs, and concerns of people from earlier times. Now not only genealogists but art and social historians, anthropologists, and folklorists are discovering, collecting, and analyzing the valuable data stored on gravemarkers and preserved in cemeteries. In Utah, although the genealogical information found on gravestones has been well documented, relatively little has been written about their artistic and cultural attributes.<sup>1</sup> This paper, part of a larger study of Utah gravestones, will look at some of Utah's earliest gravestones and the craftsmen who carved them in an attempt to better understand Utah's people and her developing culture during the first few decades after pioneer settlement.

Gravestones provide various kinds of information about the people and society that produce them. Clustered death dates on a group of markers can tell a story of disease or disaster; while the material or technology utilized in creating markers can tell a story of economic resources and industrial development. The arrangement of markers within a cemetery may provide clues about an individual's social standing; while the geographical distribution of markers produced by an identifiable carver or workshop may shed light on the development of commercial and transportation networks.<sup>2</sup> Also essential to this study is the more speculative information gravestones can supply about the attitudes and concerns of those who lived in earlier times.

Through their design, imagery, and text—made available by carvers and chosen by family or friends—gravestones can make an eloquent statement of both individual and community beliefs about life, death, and the afterlife. Gravestones function as important intermediaries between the temporal and the spiritual worlds. They can show

<sup>1</sup>Aside from a report outlining potential areas of study by Maury Haseltine in "A Progress Report on the Pictorial Documentation of Early Utah Gravestones," *Forms upon the Frontier: Folklife and Folk Arts in the United States*, ed. Austin Fife, Alta Fife, and Henry H. Glassie (Logan, Ut.: Utah State University Press, 1969), previous studies of Utah gravestones deal almost exclusively with their symbolism. Austin Fife and Alta Fife, "Gravestone Imagery," in *Utah Folk Art: A Catalogue of Material Culture*, ed. Hal Cannon (Provo, Ut.: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), and Richard C. Poulsen, *The Pure Experience of Order: Essays on the Symbolic in the Folk Material Culture of Western America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982).

<sup>2</sup>The following works are considered classics in the study of American gravestones: Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols, 1650-1815* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1966); Henriette M. Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them: 1653-1800* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927); James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archeology of Early American Life* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1977); and Peter Benes, *The Masks of Orthodoxy: Folk Gravestone Carving in Plymouth County, Massachusetts, 1689-1805* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977).

how individuals and society reconcile themselves to the inevitability of death. And they can reassure those who mourn, as well as those whose time will eventually come, of the truth of their beliefs.

Like other frontier settlers the Mormon pioneers were essentially self-sufficient until the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. Given their isolation and the ongoing need to provide adequate food and shelter, one might assume that the marking of graves with anything other than the ubiquitous frontier cross would be considered an extravagance. One might also assume that those religious beliefs that precipitated their westward migration would lead early Utahns to declare their unique religious beliefs on their gravemarkers. An examination of the gravestones produced by four early stonecarvers during the first two decades after settlement should test the validity of these assumptions and result in a broader understanding of the early Mormon pioneers and their developing culture.

William Ward, Jr., Charles Lambert, William Warner Player, and Samuel Lane Jones were all immigrant craftsmen, Mormon converts from England who arrived in Salt Lake City between 1847 and 1862. All were trained and had worked in their native land and were familiar with English stonecarving traditions. Although other stonecutters produced gravestones during the settlement period, the work of these four Englishmen, which collectively numbers about 100 markers,<sup>3</sup> represents a significant portion of the custom-made gravestones locally produced prior to the completion of the railroad and the eventual availability of precut markers from eastern quarries.

#### WILLIAM WARD, JR.

Born on September 2, 1827, near Leicester, England, into a family of nine children, William Ward, Jr., followed his father and grandfathers into the stonemason's trade. Because of his ability, Ward, along with two much older students, was apprenticed at the age of seven to an architect. He presumably studied architecture, sculpture, painting, and drawing, gaining proficiency in both the technique of subtractive sculpture and the emerging English Gothic Revival style in architecture. In 1844 after baptism into the Mormon church, Ward immigrated with

<sup>3</sup>Although approximately 100 gravestones have been attributed to these four carvers, one can assume they represent only a portion of their total output. For example, of the nearly 50 gravestones either mentioned in Charles Lambert's diary or identified in earlier years in area cemeteries only about half can still be located.

his parents and five siblings to Nauvoo, Illinois, arriving shortly before the expulsion of the Saints from the city and their migration westward. His father and brother died in Council Bluffs, Iowa, but the remaining family members reached Utah in the fall of 1850 when William was in his early twenties.<sup>4</sup>

Ward's abilities soon became known in the Salt Lake Valley. He was appointed foreman over the stonecutters working on the Temple Block project and later became an assistant to Truman O. Angell, Sr., the LDS church architect. As Angell's assistant, Ward was involved in the design and construction of a number of early buildings including Brigham Young's Lion House and the Salt Lake Temple.

Ward was modest about his work, and although he did put his signature on his designs for the temple, it was not until two years after the completion of the Lion House that he agreed to sign the couchant lion that he had sculpted for its doorway. Some historians have suggested that Ward may have had more influence upon the design and construction of these buildings than Angell's records indicate.<sup>5</sup>

In 1852 Ward was commissioned by the legislature to compose and sculpt a stone placard representing the territory for placement in the shaft of the Washington Monument in the nation's capital. When completed, Ward's stone block (3' wide x 2' high x 8" thick), quarried from the oolitic limestone of Sanpete County, featured such well known Mormon motifs as the beehive, clasped hands, horn of plenty, and all-seeing eye, with the words, "Holiness to the Lord."<sup>6</sup> Ward was also commissioned to carve a bust of Shakespeare for the Salt Lake Theatre and to paint murals in the original Endowment House during the winter of 1855-56.<sup>7</sup>

More relevant to this study is the artistic legacy that Ward left when he turned his attention to carving gravestones. In October 1854 Ward ran the following advertisement in the *Deseret News*:

Through the Winter Season I intend to work at Gravestone Engraving.  
Persons wishing to erect a tombstone in memory of their friends can see

<sup>4</sup>Much of the information presented here was gathered during an interview with Sadie Ogden, Ward's great-great niece, April 1983, in Provo, Utah. Ward arrived in Utah on October 1, 1850, with the Ninth Company, Stephen Markham, captain. See *Journal History*, December 31, 1850, p. 19, LDS Church Library-Archives, Salt Lake City.

<sup>5</sup>Charles Mark Hamilton, "Design and Construction of the Salt Lake Temple—Weeks, Angell Sr., Ward," MS, copy in author's possession.

<sup>6</sup>Brigham Young to John Bernhisel, *Journal History*: August 28, 1852; article in the *Deseret News*, cited in *Journal History*, January 8, 1853, p. 2.

<sup>7</sup>Robert S. Olpin, *Dictionary of Utah Art* (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Art Center, 1980), p. 271; Fife, Fife, and Glassie, *Forms upon the Frontier*, p. 83.

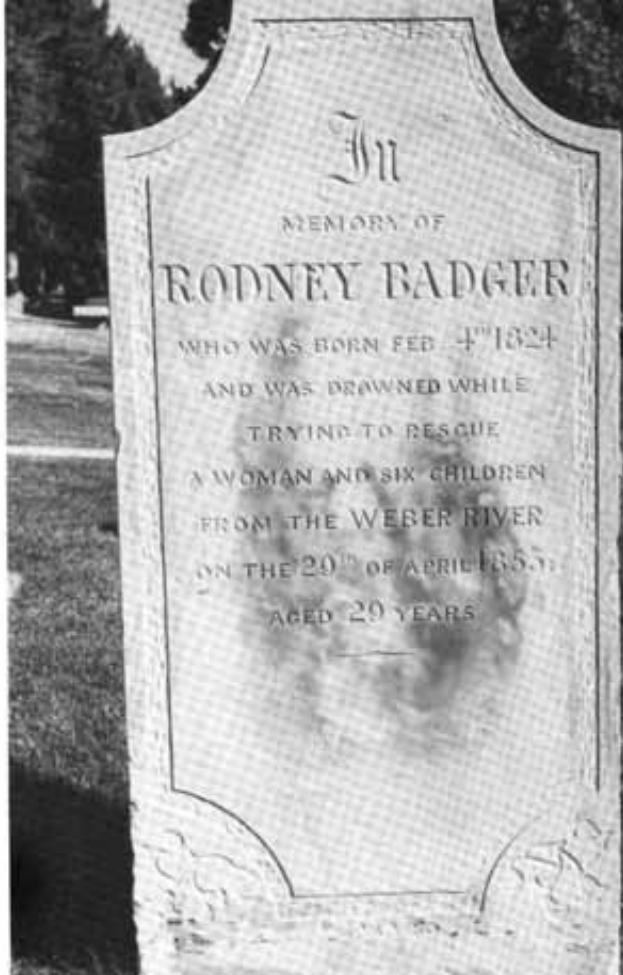


Figure 2, left. This stone reflects William Ward's training in Gothic Revival style architecture and the monumental art popular in his native England.

Figure 3, right. Rodney Badger, a young husband with four children of his own, drowned attempting to rescue some children from the flood-swollen Weber River.

specimens in the grave yard, or designs at my house . . . or at the Stone Shop, on the north-east corner of the Temple block.

Over his workshop door, located near the stonecutting sheds on Temple Block, a sign read: "William Ward—Architect and Sculptor" with a smaller, window sign advertising "Architectural Ornament, Tombstones, Monuments and C.X."<sup>8</sup>

Although only the bottom sections remain for most of Ward's signed gravestones, almost a dozen well preserved stones in the Salt Lake City Cemetery can be identified as his work. The majority of these stones bear death dates in 1853. Allowing for a period of time between an individual's death and the placement of the stone, it seems likely that these stones were carved during the winter of 1854-55, as suggested by the above advertisement.

Ward carved gravestones from the same tan or "nugget" sandstone he used to construct the castellated front entrance to the Lion

<sup>8</sup>Olpin, *Dictionary of Utah Art*, p. 270.

House and carve the lion atop its portico. This fine-grained sandstone was quarried, along with a deep red variety, in Red Butte Canyon, east of present Fort Douglas.<sup>9</sup>

Ward's gravestones are relatively tall, large markers (average 50'' high x 23'' wide x 5'' thick). Vertical in design, they exhibit variety in the shape of the canopy (top silhouette). Yet in spite of their relatively large size, Ward's skillful, often delicate, sculpting and carving created monuments of elegant beauty and intricacy.

A familiarity with the principles of English Gothic Revival style architecture and the techniques of subtractive sculpture are evident in much of Ward's gravestone work. A good example is the gravestone of Marian Agnes Pratt, the eight-month-old daughter of Orson and Marian Pratt (figure 2). The steeply pitched canopy—in effect, a pointed arch—is the hallmark of Gothic Revival design, while the recessed arches just below and the architectural ornamentation are reminiscent of English monumental art. The technique of subtractive sculpture is evident in the marker's successively recessed planes, creating a marker more than five inches thick on the borders and less than two inches thick on the face. A bouquet of roses with a hand from above breaking off a rosebud, a common nineteenth-century image suggesting that a young life had been “nipped in the bud,” was often used, as in this instance, on the grave of a young female. The hand can be interpreted as God's hand, but it is the hand of a loving God who will care for his heavenly charges, as suggested by the epitaph:

Dust unto dust the earth receives,  
And treasures up its own.  
But still my darling baby lives—  
In paradise she's known.

In addition to receiving commissions for gravestones from private citizens, Ward seems to have been given some work as part of his job as assistant architect of public works. The gravestone made to memorialize a young community hero, Rodney Badger, was presumably of this type. George A. Smith provides a good description of the activity in Ward's workshop and mentions the Badger and other gravestones.

Went into the stone cutter's shop, where 17 men were busily plying their hammers and chisels, forming the coping for the north wall of the Temple Block, which is very near finished; . . . also saw a grave stone for Rodney Badger [figure 3], who you will recollect was drowned while endeavoring to save the lives of an emigrant woman and her four orphan children, who

<sup>9</sup>*Utah Resources and Activities* (Salt Lake City, 1933), p. 357.

were traveling to California last season; also one for the child of Elder O. Pratt [figure 2], and one for Brother Patterson [figure 4], who was killed while quarrying rock; all of which are the labour of Brother William Ward, and will bear comparison with any work of a similar nature in the cities of America or Europe.<sup>10</sup>



*Figure 4. Seven-year-old John Patterson may or may not have been killed in the quarry accident, but this stone carved by William Ward memorializes him and a sister who died earlier. Courtesy of Mary Olsen.*

A few months after this very complimentary letter was written, Thomas Tanner, one of Ward's co-workers and the foreman of the public works blacksmith shop, died at the age of fifty-one. In his memory Ward carved his final Utah gravestone, a masterpiece of realistic detail and a classic example of an occupational gravestone, immortalizing blacksmith Tanner and his contribution to the pioneer settlement (figure 5).

The bottom of the Tanner gravestone measures more than eight inches in depth, and from this stone base Ward sculpted an arrangement of miniature tools and products representative of the blacksmith's trade. A variety of pliers, hammers, and hooks are placed around the

<sup>10</sup>George A. Smith to "The Mormon," *Journal History*, May 31, 1855, p. 4.

blacksmith's anvil which is symbolically draped with a work cloth, suggesting that both the craftsman and his tools have been laid to rest. To extend this imagery, Ward carved a linked chain, a typical product of the blacksmith shop, around the inside edge of the entire gravestone. The chain, while providing a visual border, symbolizes the notion that man is part of a continuum between heaven and earth, God and man, and suggests that death is not the end but just one link in the chain or path leading to heaven.

In the summer of 1856 William Ward ended his sojourn in pioneer Utah to work as a draftsman and architect in various midwestern and eastern locations, including Council Bluffs, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and Florence, Nebraska. In the late 1880s he returned to the Salt Lake Valley and for several years taught mechanical and architectural drawing at the University of Deseret.

*Figure 5. Many of the markers made from sandstone out of Salt Lake's Red Butte Canyon have weathered more than a century in remarkable condition.*



## CHARLES LAMBERT

Another English-trained gravestone carver whose work is among the earliest in Utah's cemeteries was Charles Lambert, born in Dirgh-ton, Yorkshire, on August 30, 1816, the son of Charles and Sarah Greaves Lambert. At the age of twelve Charles was apprenticed to his uncle, Thomas Lambert, to learn the trades of stonecutting and building. He continued his studies in Leeds where he learned quarrying and slate riving (splitting). At the age of nineteen he was employed by the London and Birmingham Railroad and subsequently became a contractor/builder for the York and North Midland Railroad. In 1843 he joined the Mormon church and shortly thereafter immigrated to Nauvoo, Illinois.<sup>11</sup>

Lambert's skills were immediately put to use on the partially completed Nauvoo Temple where he worked during the final two years of its construction. He was one of several stoneworkers credited with much of the specialized stonecutting required for the capital faces, capstones, and baptismal font.<sup>12</sup> After the Saints left Nauvoo he spent two years in Council Bluffs, Iowa, and St. Joseph, Missouri, and then, in 1849, Lambert, his wife Mary Alice Cannon, and her three orphaned siblings journeyed with the Allen Taylor company to Utah. Upon their arrival they acquired property within the boundaries of the Seventh Ward, including Lot 8 of Block 49, that, ironically, had functioned as the valley's first burial ground.<sup>13</sup> There he set up a stonecutting shop from which he supplied pioneer homes and businesses with hearths, mantels, and steps as well as stones for grinding, printing, and numerous other uses.<sup>14</sup>

Although Lambert was active for over thirty years as a Salt Lake stonecutter and stonemason,<sup>15</sup> his production of gravemarkers was basically limited to a ten-year span from the late 1850s to the late 1860s. During that period he carved memorial headstones and footstones for placement in West Jordan, Bountiful, Farmington, Ogden, North Og-

<sup>11</sup>Beatrice C. Evans and Janath R. Cannon, eds., *Cannon Family Historical Treasury* (Salt Lake City: George Cannon Family Assn., 1967), pp. 153-58.

<sup>12</sup>Journal History, December 6 and 31, 1844.

<sup>13</sup>Charles Lambert's workshop, as well as the Pioneer Cemetery, was located on the ten-acre block directly east of Pioneer Park (bounded by 200 and 300 West, 300 and 400 South). During the summer of 1986 thirty-three burials were excavated from this area and relocated in the cemetery at Pioneer Trail State Park.

<sup>14</sup>Charles Lambert's Journals provide a wealth of information about his daily activities, including his stoneworking. Typescript copies are in the Utah State Historical Society Library, Salt Lake City.

<sup>15</sup>J. R. Kearl, Clayne L. Pope, Larry T. Wimmer, comps., *Index to the 1850, 1860, and 1870 Censuses of Utah* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1981).



Figure 6, left. Lambert followed the custom of signing his work along the bottom edge of the stone, usually C. Lambert, occasionally C. L., and at least once Chas. Lambert.

Figure 7, above. Lambert likely made his own template to trace this characteristic salutation and design onto the stone before carving.

den, and Grantsville, as well as in the Salt Lake City Cemetery. Utilizing a reddish sandstone taken from quarries in “Redbute” (*sic*) and “Killion’s Kenyon” (Killyon Canyon, an extension of Emigration Canyon)<sup>16</sup> Lambert produced between forty and fifty gravestones in a range of sizes (14”-20” wide, 27”-45” high, 3”-4” thick).

Lambert generally carved gravestones during the winter months when the ongoing process of family food production was restricted by the weather. He often worked on several commissions simultaneously, sometimes producing more than one marker for the same family. Payment was not always made with hard currency, and often he received at least partial payment in flour, bacon, molasses, tallow, or adobes, with a yoke of cattle, a cow and a calf, and 300 pounds of flour (at approximately \$12.00 per hundred), each representing total payment for gravestones of varying complexity. The gravestone for Hannah Potts, wife of James Potts, was an exception as Lambert recorded on “Wed 31st received from J.M. Potts in green the sum of \$80.00. . . .”<sup>17</sup>

The Hannah Potts stone (figure 6) that marks her grave in the center of the Farmington Cemetery provides an excellent example of Lambert’s carving style. One of the most distinctive indicators of his work is the combination of the words “In Memory of” with two, symmetrical, curvilinear designs (figure 7). Although this was only one of

<sup>16</sup>Lambert Journals, vol. 6 (May 10, 1863, to June 23, 1868), pp. 20–21. USGS Mountain Dell quadrangle shows location of Killyon Canyon.

<sup>17</sup>Lambert Journals, p. 22.

several styles produced in Lambert's workshop, almost a dozen northern Utah gravestones of this kind are still in existence. Another characteristic of his work is the order in which he recorded information about the deceased. For example, he generally included a reference to family relationships (e.g., wife, son, or daughter of) immediately after the name of the deceased. This was followed either by birth and death dates or by a birth date and an indication of age at death, often enumerated by years, weeks, and days. As illustrated here, the biographical information is sometimes followed by a short epitaph of scripture or verse—an addition that was likely requested by the gravestone purchaser.<sup>18</sup> The epitaph on the Potts stone reads "Sleep on loved one/Thy joys are sure," suggesting belief in a benevolent God and in an afterlife where good works on earth will be rewarded.

All of Lambert's gravestones show him to be a master at lettering, a process that used templates or stencils to guide the carver as he chiseled into the stone. But a gravestone carved in memory of Nathaniel V. Jones, also illustrates Lambert's proficiency at the more difficult process of hand-sculpturing (figure 8).

The skill and precision with which the oak leaves were carved is evidenced by the symmetry of the design and by the varying depth of each leaf in relation to the surface. The resulting three-dimensional effect gives life to the oak leaves, a traditional symbol of strength. It is likely that Lambert's artistic talents also created the custom template used to incise the winged hourglasses just below the oak leaves. In their artistry and in their symbolic statement of victory over corporeal death, these winged hourglasses undoubtedly found approval among Lambert's neighbor's and clients in pioneer Utah.

The Lambert workshop was often a busy place with more than one stonecutter at work. Lambert's older sons C. J. and Richard, Samuel L. Evans, and W. W. Player were among those who sometimes assisted or collaborated on specific commissions. One such instance involved a \$375 contract to erect a monument over the grave of the late Gov. James Duane Doty. Lambert invited Player to assist him, and the two of them spent much of the summer of 1865 quarrying and cutting the sandstone to produce a classically designed four-sided marker with a marble placard for Doty's name and dates (figure 9). They completed the contract, as was the custom, by setting the monument over Doty's grave in the Fort Douglas Cemetery.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 40.



Figure 8, left. The hourglass, an old European symbol popular in Puritan New England, reminds us of the "sands of time" and death's inevitability, while the wings suggest the soul has gone to heaven.

Figure 9, right. Territorial Governor James Duane Doty's monument. USHS collections.

By the end of the 1860s Lambert's career as a gravestone carver seems to have waned, but his skills as a quarryman and a stonemason kept him well employed for another twenty years. Among his many achievements during this period was the construction of a system of bridges, canals, and levees along the Jordan River. During the 1870s and 1880s Lambert returned twice to his native England to serve missions for the Mormon church, and on May 2, 1892, at the age of seventy-five, he passed away on his farm in Granger, Utah. His obituary read, "He was a master builder and stonecutter . . . with excellent worldly prospects which he forsook soon after he was baptised (by sailing) to America to write his fortunes with the Saints then gathering in Nauvoo."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Evans and Cannon, *Cannon Family*, p. 143.

## WILLIAM WARNER PLAYER

A third English stonecarver was William Warner Player, son of Charles and Ann Player, born in Chelsea, Middlesex, on March 3, 1793. In 1842, at the age of forty-nine, he immigrated to Nauvoo, Illinois, with his wife and teenage children. Player's arrival in Nauvoo seems to have been anticipated by early Mormon leaders, for he was immediately employed as the "principle setter" on the temple project. William Clayton's account of the temple construction reported the importance of that development:

The work on the walls did not commence until late in the spring of 1842, and there was but little done until Brother William W. Player came in June. He was just arrived from England and came with the full intention of working on the temple. He commenced to work about the 8th of June and spent some time in regulating the stone work already set which was not very well done.<sup>21</sup>

During the next three years of the temple's construction, until the ceremony in 1845 at which he assisted Brigham Young in placing the final capstone, Player supervised the stonework on the temple. He was personally responsible for cutting and setting all but two of the capitals (the first and last were cut and set by Charles Lambert and Harvey Stanley), setting trumpet stones on the capitals, and placing a star atop the southeast capital. He was also one of a dozen men specifically appointed to cut stone for the baptismal font.<sup>22</sup>

Player may have carved gravestones in his native England, but the first mention of such work in North America occurred in 1846, just prior to the March departure from Nauvoo of the Mormons. Player and others reportedly placed an "inscription stone" (which he presumably carved) over the grave of Jeanetta, a young daughter of Willard Richards.<sup>23</sup>

Although some clues exist, the circumstances of Player's trek to Utah remain a mystery. He was still in the Nauvoo area as late as 1848, apparently bound for Winter Quarters,<sup>24</sup> but for the next twelve years his whereabouts are as yet undocumented. His son William J. was married in Kanesville (Council Bluffs, Iowa) in 1850, and a grand-

<sup>21</sup>William Clayton Journal in *Journal History*, October 11, 1842, p. 2.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, May 23, 1845; December 31, 1844, p. 11; March 27, 1845; April 21, 1845; December 31, 1844, p. 14.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, February 4, 1846.

<sup>24</sup>Almon W. Babbitt to President Brigham Young, *Journal History*, January 31, 1848.

daughter was born near Lincoln, Nebraska, the following year.<sup>25</sup> A decade later William J. and another son, Charles W., were listed in the 1860 Salt Lake census as a blacksmith and stonecutter, respectively. Yet Player and his wife, Zillah, did not arrive in the Salt Lake Valley until the fall of 1862,<sup>26</sup> at which time they made their home in the Seventeenth Ward.

The fact that Player embarked on a gravestone carving career in 1862 at the age of sixty-nine is corroborated by the death dates on markers identified as being his work. Between forty and fifty gravestones in northern Utah cemeteries with death dates in the 1860s either bear his signature or have been attributed to him. Although the majority of these markers are in the Salt Lake City Cemetery, his distinguishing style can also be found in cemeteries at Fort Douglas, Union, Lehi, Bountiful, Farmington, Kaysville, Brigham City, and Richmond.

Most of Player's gravestones were carved from the whitish tan sandstone found in Red Butte Canyon. They are smaller than those made by either Ward or Lambert (averaging 15"-18" wide x 30"+ high x 3" or less thick). Although the shape of the canopy, the composition of the text, and the use of symbolic imagery can be quite varied, his gravestones are immediately recognizable. Player's penchant for combining several styles of script, plus his distinctive punctuation and abbreviation, make his gravestones easy to identify.

The stone marking the graves of two of William and Ellen Capener's children (figure 10) provides an example of Player's typical carving style. Produced after 1867 to memorialize sisters Ellen and Mar-



Figure 10. The Gothic style, pointed canopy (silhouette) of this W. W. Player gravestone reflects his English origin and training.

<sup>25</sup>Information obtained from Family Group Sheets in the LDS Church Family History Library, Salt Lake City, and from family member Carol Olwell.

<sup>26</sup>George A. Smith to John Fido, Journal History, November 15, 1862, p. 3.



Figure 11. Player's skill in carving is evident in the symmetry of the canopy, medallion, and niche, and in the placement and spacing of the lettering.

garet who died in 1862 and 1867, respectively, the Capener gravestone contains at least three script styles and a somewhat unpredictable use of upper and lower case lettering. It also contains Player's characteristic method of abbreviation that utilizes elevated letters and unusually placed commas. Although not clearly visible on this particular stone, Player often signed his name, using commas after his initials rather than the standard periods: W, W, Player. On this particular stone the only symbolic image is a written one, the epitaph: "The caskets lie here but the jewels have fled," which suggests a strong belief in the life of the soul after the death of the body, much like the epitaphs found on the previously discussed Ward and Lambert gravestones.

The Malinda Leavitt gravestone (figure 11), one of several Player stones in the Farmington Cemetery, features another characteristic of his work. On this and many other gravestones Player applied not only his expertise in fabricating and using templates for lettering but also his skill at the more difficult process of hand sculpturing. Using iron chisels, hand-powered by a wooden mallet, Player succeeded in carving a funerary urn that is both delicate and well balanced. The attention to detail, the symmetry of the two sides, and the three dimensionality of the urn all demonstrate the artistry and precision Player undoubtedly brought to all his work, from the temple in Nauvoo to privately commissioned gravestones in Utah.

The use of the funerary urn, a popular nineteenth-century symbol of mourning, is by itself of interest. An urn, which presumably contains the ashes of the deceased, is generally used to symbolize the death of the body. Its placement on this gravestone, without an epitaph or additional symbols to suggest the survival of the spirit, is somewhat unusual for this locale. Its use might be attributed to the popularity of this and other symbols of mourning such as the weeping willow, that en-

joyed popularity throughout the nineteenth century and became extremely common during Victorian times.

Despite his somewhat advanced age, Player worked as a stonecutter throughout the 1860s and into the next decade. His friendship with Englishman Charles Lambert, presumably begun in Nauvoo during construction of the temple, continued in Utah Territory as the two stonecutters occasionally shared commissions (see figure 9). In October 1869, at the age of seventy-six, Player's work was acknowledged as being "no dishonor to the artist" in an editorial describing "a tombstone, chiseled and polished by W. W. Player from Provo Valley marble" that had been submitted to the Ninth Annual Exhibition of the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society.<sup>27</sup> On February 23, 1873, just eight days before his eightieth birthday, Player died unexpectedly at the family's Salt Lake residence.<sup>28</sup>

#### SAMUEL LANE JONES, SR.

A final English carver whose work is identifiable is Samuel Lane Jones, Sr., born in Kidderminster, Worcestershire, on April 14, 1828. The Jones family converted to Mormonism and subsequently emigrated, arriving in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847 when Samuel was nineteen. He was married in the Endowment House in 1854 and in the 1856 census of the Seventeenth Ward was listed as head of a large household that included his wife, his elderly mother, and probably some of his siblings. By 1860, at the age of thirty-two, Jones had established a stonecutting business in Salt Lake City.<sup>29</sup>

As was the case with both Lambert and Player, the gravestones from Jones's Salt Lake workshop display death dates from throughout the 1860s. Between twenty and thirty gravestones carved during this period either bear his signature or can be attributed to him. They were carved from the red sandstone found in Red Butte Canyon and average 20" wide x 40" high x 3" + thick.

The Sarah Verrinder Capener gravestone provides a good example of Jones's work (figure 12). Both the shape of the canopy, with its pointed center and symmetrical curves, and the elaborately carved "SACRED," are characteristic of his carving style. And, like W. W.

<sup>27</sup>*Deseret News* as cited in *Journal History*, October 6, 1869.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, February 24, 1873, p. 4.

<sup>29</sup>Information compiled from Family Group Sheets and the Salt Lake City 1856 Ward Census, LDS Church Family History Library; 1860 U.S. Census.

Figure 12, right. To keep them in place, vertical markers were often set two or more feet into the ground. Over time many carvers' signatures have been covered by dirt or vegetation, but Jones's remains visible on this Salt Lake City Cemetery stone.

Figures 13 and 14, below. Monument to Fort Douglas soldiers killed in 1863, by S.L. Jones and J. Contell. Detail shows Jones's distinctive punctuation style.



Player, the manner in which he abbreviated and punctuated dates furnishes a means of identifying his work. Jones typically not only elevated the "st," "nd," "rd," or "th" following numerals, but he also added and elevated a final consonant to already abbreviated months. He then underlined these elevated letters and added a comma beneath each. The treatment of Sarah Capener's birthdate, September 2nd, 1804, illustrates this. The flower, a rich symbol that suggests both the beauty and fragility of life, was often used on female graves. On this stone Jones carved an image resembling a zinnia rather than the more commonly used rose. Then, as now, flowers symbolized both love and life. The addition of the small bud to the stem strengthens and broadens the symbol, declaring belief in a resurrection or physical rebirth of living matter.

In addition to those gravestones found in the Salt Lake City Cemetery, Jones carved a large sandstone monument (figure 13) and a number of individual markers for placement in the newer Fort Douglas Cemetery. The fort, established in 1862, served as a base of operation for the U.S. soldiers who had been sent "to protect the telegraph lines, mail routes, and immigration trails" in the area.<sup>30</sup> Only two months after the army designated an area near the mouth of Red Butte Canyon as a cemetery, fourteen men were buried there, all casualties of the January 1863 Battle of Bear River. Eight more died later from wounds received in the same battle. Additional burials were soon added, casualties of a springtime skirmish with Ute Indians near Spanish Fork.

Another craftsman, J. Contell, worked with Jones to create the large stone monument honoring those who died at Bear River and Spanish Fork. Constructed from red sandstone, this four-sided monument features hand-sculpted images of military rifles on the west face as well as a tall, central column with a statue of a soldier on top. Prominently situated in the center of the cemetery, the monument includes the name and rank of each soldier, inscribed with Jones's distinctive style of punctuation and abbreviation (figure 14).

During the next few years Jones carved a number of individual gravestones for military personnel and their families. These markers are similar to the ones he made for civilian clients, except that the flowers and wreaths have been replaced by military flags and swords or by Masonic symbols like the square and compass. One such stone,

<sup>30</sup>Cindy Vail, "Fort Douglas: A Story of Survival," *Utah Preservation/Restoration* 3 (1981), pp. 26-33.

*Figure 15. Exact age in years, months, and days sometimes replaced date of birth on nineteenth-century gravestones. Although it might be considered a fashion, it can also be seen as a way of expressing caring and attention to detail in an agrarian society where one day or year was probably difficult to differentiate from the rest. In Robinson's case, the convention was likely used to underline the outrage felt by family and friends at his murder. USHS collections.*



carved for the Fort Douglas chaplain and surgeon, Dr. J. King Robinson, displays the Masonic all-seeing eye of God and the unbroken, three-link chain of the trinity (figure 15).

According to some accounts, Robinson was called from his home and shot on the street, but no one was ever prosecuted for his murder.<sup>31</sup> God's all-seeing eye, along with the epitaph, "Vengeance is mine: I will repay, saith the Lord," were obviously meant to increase guilt and anxiety for Robinson's assassins.<sup>32</sup> The Robinson gravestone, like the

<sup>31</sup>Telephone conversation with Howard Ritzma, History Committee member, First Congregational Church, Salt Lake City, fall 1987.

<sup>32</sup>Interestingly, God's omniscient eye was one of several Masonic symbols adopted by the Mormons. Used during the 1870s and '80s as a means of identifying Mormon businesses, it appeared on a number of locally produced objects, including a handful of gravestones. The all-seeing eye is also found on the east face of the Salt Lake Temple in combination with the words "Holiness to the Lord."

others carved by Jones, features his distinctive method of punctuation and abbreviation. It also provides an example of another common practice, namely recording the deceased's age at the time of death in terms of years, months, and days, instead of providing the birthdate.

Jones married for a second time in 1866, although the genealogical records do not make it clear whether or not it was a polygamous marriage. Sometime between 1867 and 1869 Jones relocated in Kaysville, twenty miles north of Salt Lake City.<sup>33</sup> In Kaysville he continued his work as a gravestone carver, although he switched from local sandstone to imported marble when it became available in the mid-1870s.<sup>34</sup> Jones continued carving gravestones until the late 1880s. He died in 1891 at the age of sixty-three and was buried in Kaysville.

### CONCLUSIONS

What can be learned about early Utahns and their culture from the gravestones carved for them by these four English stonecarvers? By the sheer volume of custom-made gravestones produced before the availability of imported markers, it appears that Utah was somewhat different from many frontier communities. Although simple wooden markers or stones were likely used to mark the very early graves, William Ward was advertising his gravestone carving services only seven years after the arrival of the first pioneers. With thousands of immigrants arriving every season, life's necessities were of foremost concern for a number of years. Why, then, were Utahns interested in ordering elaborate, custom-made gravestones?

Perhaps one answer lies in the circumstances surrounding the Mormon migration westward. Unlike many settlements in the Intermountain West which were founded for mining or other occupational enterprises, the Mormon communities sought permanence from the very beginning—an attitude that undoubtedly contributed to an early interest in obtaining permanent gravestones. Part of the answer also seems to lie in the availability of fine materials, specifically the sandstone deposits, from nearby Red Butte Canyon. And certainly the arrival of European-trained craftsmen with skill and experience in carving gravestones also contributed to this phenomenon.

Gravestones, through their design, imagery, and text, can eloquently express a society's beliefs about life and death. Given the reli-

<sup>33</sup>Family Group Sheets in the LDS Church Family History Library.

<sup>34</sup>This change in materials was accompanied by an expansion in Jones's repertoire of images. His marble gravestones of the 1870s and '80s feature a wider variety of both biblical symbols, e.g., angels, lambs and doves, and Victorian symbols of mourning, e.g., weeping willows and funerary urns.

gious grounds for Utah's settlement, one would expect the gravestones chosen by the earliest pioneers to graphically reflect these beliefs. Yet the work of these four early carvers is devoid of the Mormon beehives, clasped hands, and all-seeing eyes that have come to symbolize nineteenth-century Mormon culture.<sup>35</sup> Instead, they abound with more universal images of biblical origin from the intellectual tradition of western Europe or from images with contemporary popularity like the Victorian symbols of mourning. Perhaps this is because these early gravestones speak not only to the training and the skill of their makers but also to their makers' cultural heritage and world view. Just as we, today, often look to tradition to provide a repertoire of appropriate behavior for life's major crossroads (e.g., birth, marriage, and death), these carvers, as well as their customers, looked back to their own Yankee and European traditions. The broken rosebuds, winged hourglasses, funerary urns, and flowers carved by Ward, Lambert, Player, and Jones, as well as the occasional epitaphs of verse or scripture, strongly expressed their attitudes and Christian beliefs about life and death. Although not overtly Mormon, they were consistent with this new religion and, in most instances, adequately expressed both the old and new belief systems of their customers.

Utah's period of initial settlement, from 1847 until the railroad's completion in 1869, was a time of self-definition and developing identity, as illustrated by the work of these four pioneer gravestone carvers. Employing skills, techniques, and repertoires learned in their native England, they produced gravestones that were similar in design and composition to those found throughout Anglo-American culture. And while working within this tradition, with symbols of biblical origin and contemporary Victorian popularity, each carver produced distinctive pieces. Most important, their work reflected the beliefs of their customers by expressing an attitude toward life and death that was consistent with, although not exclusive to, their new, shared, Mormon religion.

Gravestones provide a wealth of information about the lives, beliefs, and concerns of the individuals they memorialize, those who commission them, and those who produce them. As a group they provide a valuable resource for understanding life in earlier times. By looking at frontier Utah from a new vantage point, this examination of the lives and work of four English gravestone carvers has attempted to contribute a few more details to the story of our state's developing culture.

<sup>35</sup>Allen D. Roberts, "Where Are the All-seeing Eyes? The Origin, Use, and Decline of Early Mormon Symbolism," *Sunstone*, May-June 1979.



*Figure 1. Baby bed attributed to L.H. Hatch, ca. 1860. Dark brown paint, unknown wood, H 23 ¼", L 35 ¼", W 25 ½". Franklin Museum, Idaho. Spindle design is less common than plank-sided cradles. Unless noted otherwise, photographs are by author, drawings by T.O. Thatcher.*

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## **“Some Chairs for My Family”: Furniture in Nineteenth-century Cache Valley**

BY ELAINE THATCHER

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**W**HEN THE FIRST MORMON SETTLERS CAME TO Cache Valley in the late 1850s their primary concerns were food, shelter, and safety. One of the important components of adequate shelter was furniture. Most settlers wanted at least a bed off the cold floor and a few shelves for storage of food and possessions. Accounts of early life in the valley describe

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primitive furnishings in log houses. Even those who came to Cache later, well into the 1870s, lived with sparse furnishings until they could afford better. Catherine Heggie Griffiths, whose family settled in Clarkston in the 1870s, wrote, "Our bed was holes bored in the logs of the cabin and posts set up to form a bed, with rawhide strips stretched across, with a straw tick and homemade lincy [linsey] sheets."<sup>1</sup>

By the early to mid-1860s settlements in the region were becoming more secure. During the 1865 to 1870 period the valley's first permanent buildings were constructed.<sup>2</sup> During this period, too, cabinet-makers started to move into Cache Valley towns, ready to provide furniture for the new houses. A local furniture industry developed and provided furnishings to the growing population for the next quarter-century. This industry eventually fell victim to the stylish mass-produced furniture that became available with the coming of the railroad.

Little research has focused on the early furniture industry in Cache Valley during the late nineteenth century. There have been a few general treatments of Mormon furniture, but little systematic work has been accomplished. This essay is intended to look at Cache Valley furniture, to offer a description of the pieces and their makers, and finally to draw some conclusions about whether there emerged a distinctive Cache Valley furniture style.

#### A LOCAL FURNITURE INDUSTRY

Depending on their circumstances, families may have carried some items of furniture to Cache Valley. Immigrants fresh from Europe generally had little more than one or two wooden trunks made in the old country, while settlers from established Mormon colonies south of Cache Valley may have brought a fair collection of furnishings such as chairs, tables, cradles, and the like.

The museum in Franklin, Idaho, at the north end of Cache Valley, houses several examples of the work of L. H. Hatch which he brought from Lehi in 1863 (figure 1). Hatch, who was called to be the bishop of Franklin, was also the carpenter for the settlement. Brigham Young had established a practice of sending selected groups of people to settle new areas of Utah, Idaho, and Arizona. It was the custom during this colonizing period for church leaders to designate a core group

<sup>1</sup>"A History of Catherine Heggie Griffiths," p. 2, Merrill Library Special Collections, Utah State University, Logan, hereafter cited as MLSC.

<sup>2</sup>Austin E. Fife, "Stone Houses of Northern Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 40 (1972): 18.

of settlers with the skills necessary for providing basic services in each village. Carpenters were needed for building wagons, tools, buildings, and furniture. Hatch, who had already established himself in Lehi, was asked to move to Franklin and fill both leadership and carpenter roles for the community.

Soon after settlement sawmills were established around the valley. The woods available locally were softwoods, usually referred to in the historical accounts as pine, cedar, and quaking aspen (*Populus tremuloides*). The term *pine* often referred to a variety of different woods, including lodgepole pine (*Pinus contorta*), Engelmann spruce (*Picea engelmannii*), and Douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*). Engelmann spruce was sometimes also called red pine. The *cedar* mentioned in local records was actually Rocky Mountain juniper (*Juniperus scopulorum*). Almost no hardwoods grew in the region. One man, a basketmaker who used oak strips, wrote of having to travel to Weber County for oak.<sup>3</sup>

One early sawmill operator, Esaias Edwards of Millville, wrote on June 4, 1864, "I have rented out my farm and are now running a sawmill by the help of hired hand and I am also running a water power lathe and circular saw. Making chairs, wheels and bedsteds and so forth."<sup>4</sup> Another local chronicler wrote that "Edwards also was an expert mechanic. He made chairs with raw hide bottoms, stools, beds and many other articles of furniture, not only for the local trade but for many in other settlements."<sup>5</sup>

It may be that as the settlements of Cache Valley grew, the sawmills manufactured less furniture, leaving it to the carpenters, but it is difficult to tell. Many businesses that are known to have sold furniture ran ads informing the public of their stock of shingles, lath, and other building materials. The lumber business did well in Cache because of the readily available wood supply and the need to build houses, wagons, and other items. Most cabinetmakers trained in the eastern United States or Europe were used to working with hardwoods such as oak, maple, and cherry. Consumers preferred them, too, but the evidence shows that the greatest amount of Utah furniture was produced out of the less expensive softwoods.

During the early period of settlement most Cache Valley carpenters and cabinetmakers were trained in Europe or the eastern United

<sup>3</sup>Michael Standley History, Federal Writers Project, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, hereafter cited as USHS.

<sup>4</sup>Esaias Edwards History, p. 65, USHS.

<sup>5</sup>Florence A. Olson, "History of Millville," unpaginated, USHS.

States. Census records reveal that the majority of these craftsmen were from England or Denmark. In 1860 five carpenters and cabinetmakers resided in Cache Valley; by 1870 all but six of the valley settlements had such craftsmen. The largest contingent was in Logan, with fourteen carpenters and six cabinetmakers. The Logan Fourth Ward appears to have had a concentration of craftsmen and became a district where customers could go in search of various locally produced wares. Such proximity between craftsmen might also have encouraged the borrowing of methods and decorative variations, diluting some of the stylistic effects of separate ethnic origins and apprenticeships.

The most prominent Cache Valley cabinetmaker was Niels Lindquist, who lived in the Fourth Ward on the northwest corner of what is now 100 East and 200 North in Logan. Lindquist learned his trade in Sweden and immigrated to the United States in 1863, coming to Logan in 1868.<sup>6</sup> No signed or labeled pieces have been found to date, but the families who claim to own Lindquist furniture have carried his name down through several generations, giving some indication that he was a highly respected artisan (figures 2, 3). Makers of furnishings from less prestigious shops have largely been forgotten over the years. Lindquist's store eventually carried both home manufactured and imported furniture in a wide price range, and thus it became the foremost furniture business in the valley.<sup>7</sup>

In August 1878 Lindquist rented a storeroom for \$250 a year to the first Presbyterian minister in Logan, Calvin M. Parks, for a place to live and set up a school. The rental included

the back room which was a paint shop for the furniture warehouse. Lindquist was threatened with excommunication for renting it. Over the storeroom was an active furniture manufactory and behind the paint shop there were pig-pens, stables, and cow-yards. The Parks set about to transform "this good place" by partitioning into a chapel, schoolroom, study, parlor, bedrooms, hall, and kitchen. Parks himself made the desks and platforms.<sup>8</sup>

Even though living below a furniture shop, these new settlers, like others, improvised their own furnishings, probably because they could not afford better at the time. Mrs. Parks wrote that she and her husband

<sup>6</sup>National Register of Historic Places nomination form for Lindquist Hall, statement of significance, p. 1, USHS.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>J. Duncan Brite Papers, MSS, Coll. 5, Box IV, Fd. 2, MLSC.



Figure 2, left. Chest attributed to N.A. Lindquist, ca. 1880. Cedar, clear finish (probably refinished). H 77 $\frac{7}{8}$ ", W 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", D 18". Private collection.

Figure 3, right. Stand attributed to N.A. Lindquist, ca. 1880. Cedar, red-brown paint, H 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", W 29 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", D 18". Private collection.

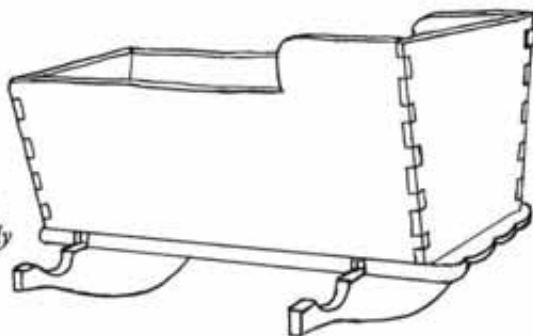
set up a dry goods box for a corner cupboard, bought a little stove and a few dishes, put two benches together to hold our bed of hay, turned up the smooth side of a window shelter for Mr. Park's study table.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to making furniture, Lindquist made coffins, as most frontier carpenters did. This work eventually led the Lindquist company, under Niels's son, to leave the furniture business and turn completely to undertaking.

Another furniture maker in Cache Valley was the aforementioned Lorenzo Hill Hatch, the bishop of Franklin. Hatch faithfully kept a journal throughout his life, but the record shows that he lost the volume or volumes that covered his life in Franklin. His entries from Lehi, where he lived prior to moving to Cache Valley, depict the life of a farmer-carpenter, and they give clues to what his life in Franklin was probably like.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

Figure 4. Cradle by L.H. Hatch, Lehi, Utah, 1851. Pine, white paint (probably not original), H 19", L 35 1/2", W 25 1/4". Franklin Museum.



In May 1858 Hatch made several trips to the mountains around Lehi to get cottonwood, maple, and cedar. He worked on his farm and made ox-bows, cradle scythes, and axe handles. In one entry in July he wrote,

. . . Monday, I mended Brother Lee's wagon [rest of week] Did a job for Ira Mildes on making a carriage, went after a load of hay. Brother Cox died, and I made his coffin. . . . Made two grain cradles. . . . Spent the day sawing out cradle fingers, made a washboard, worked at cradles, made a work horse and put together two cradles.<sup>10</sup>

Hatch wrote on Thursday, January 24, 1861, "Worked at some chairs for my family. At night put a coat of glue paint upon my furniture. February 1, painted my chairs and light-stand."<sup>11</sup> Ruth Savage Hilton, who copied Hatch's journals, summarized two and one-half years (1860-62) in a few words:

Many days spent in his shop fashioning furniture for his homes, doors, window sashes, and lintels for public buildings and for the farm, he made wagon beds, wheels, plows, and cradles to use with the scythe.<sup>12</sup>

The journal suggests that Hatch did little or no furniture making for anyone but his family. His carpentry work for others was mostly centered around tools, wagons, and buildings. Where furniture was concerned he followed the practice of providing for one's own needs where possible (figure 4).

Further evidence of how Cache Valley cabinetmakers worked can be seen in the life of James Hancey of Hyde Park. Hancey not only functioned as the community's carpenter and cabinetmaker, he also served as the local doctor and dentist. He showed an early aptitude for repairing things around the family farm in Suffolk, England, but it is

<sup>10</sup>"Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," copied from original journals by Ruth Savage Hilton, mimeographed by BYU Adult Education and Extension Services Extension Publications, March 1958, p. 63, MLSC. Brackets are in original.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

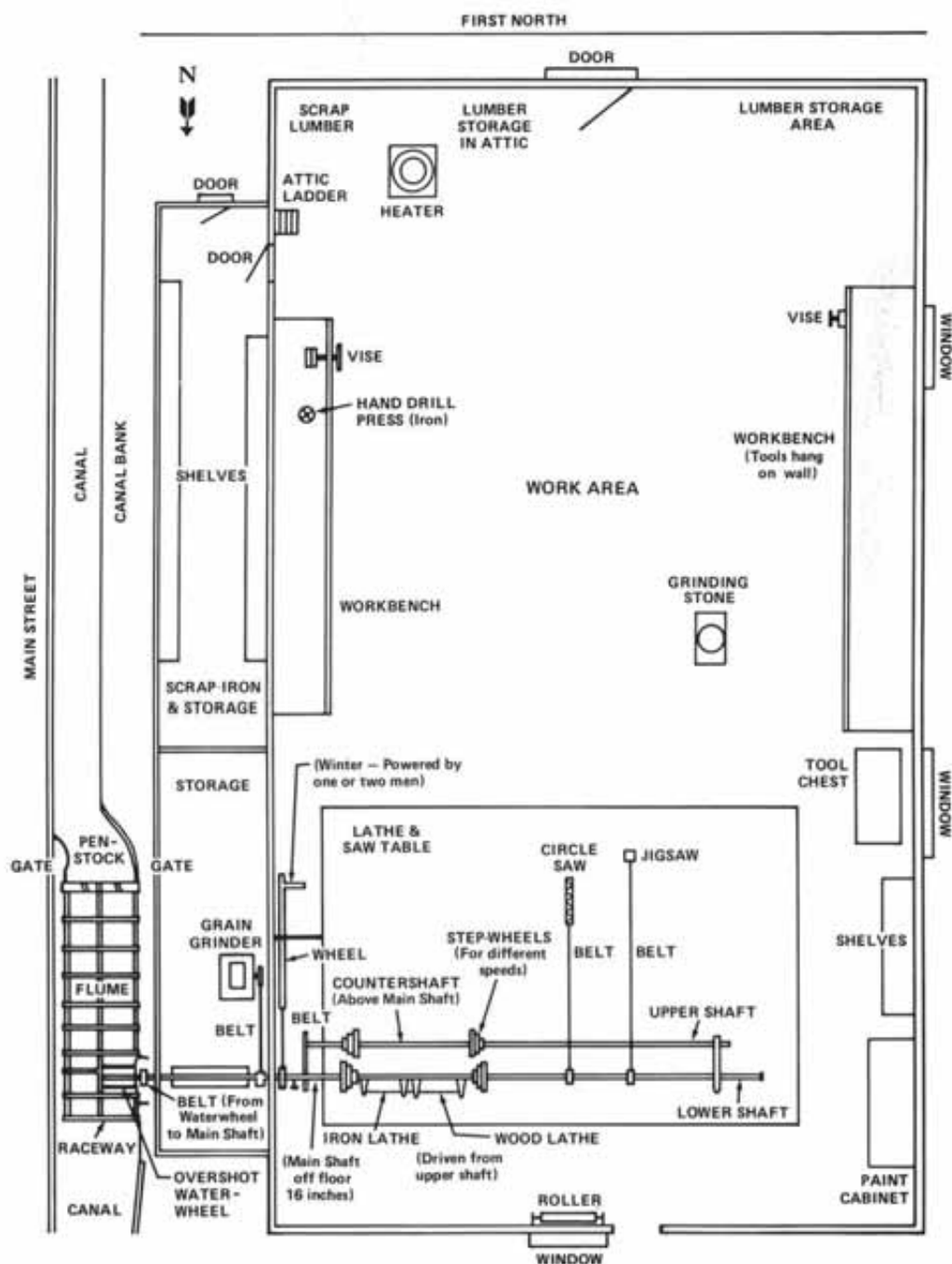


Figure 5. James Hancey's shop drawn from memory by son Leslie P. Hancey in 1979. Not to scale.



Figure 6. Desk by James Hancey, ca. 1877. Probably pine, refinished. Private collection. Bishop Robert Daines sent his son to Bogus Canyon for the wood and Hancey made the desk.

not clear whether he ever served an apprenticeship there. He joined the Mormon church and ended up in Hyde Park in 1860, where he was soon involved in making everything from rolling pins to the first Hyde Park church, built in 1865. He located his shop on the corner of First North and Main in 1868 and equipped it with a wood lathe, an iron lathe, and various other tools for carpentry and machine repair (figure 5). Here Hancey built chairs, tables, cupboards, beds, cradles, and toys (figure 6). He operated the shop until 1908, using water power from the old canal to run his lathe. When the water was low the lathe was turned by a hand wheel.

Cabinetmaking skills were transmitted through a formal apprenticeship program and through family connections. Evidence of the learning process among Cache Valley wood craftsmen can be seen in the records of Christian Hans Monson of Richmond and Preston Morehead of Smithfield. Monson is listed in an 1882 business directory as the owner of a planing mill.<sup>13</sup> He grew up in Norway where, after joining the Latter-day Saint church, he was taken in by a Mormon cabinetmaker who taught him the trade. He emigrated in 1857 and settled in Richmond. In the early Richmond fort there were three or four log cabins that "served as residence, carpenter shop, and sleeping quarters for some of the men. . . ."<sup>14</sup> His daughter recalled that in their house

<sup>13</sup>McKenney's *Business Directory of Principal Towns of California, Nevada, and Utah* (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker & Co., Publishers, 1882), p. 740.

<sup>14</sup>Theda Judd, "Christian Hans Monson—Biographical Sketch," p. 10, USHS.

they had a table that "would seat twenty and at most every meal every place would be taken. Apprentices employed by my father ate at the table with us."<sup>15</sup> She continued,

For a time, Father owned and operated a sawmill on the hills east of Richmond. Later he bought a planing mill, the second one to be brought to Utah. This was operated by steam power. To this was added other machinery for the manufacture of lath, shingles, and other building materials. Thus he furnished employment for his many sons.<sup>16</sup>

Preston Morehead, born in Mississippi,

... had a well-equipped carpenter shop where he did custom-cabinet work of many sorts, especially home furnishings—school desks, church tables, benches, and rostrums. He opened his shop to the public and set up a training school to instruct his neighbors in tool-use technique.<sup>17</sup>

A Hyrum carpenter/farmer/entrepreneur, Ira Allen, had a complete carpenter shop on the upper floor of his granary where he repaired tools, furniture, and other items. Allen did not himself spend a great deal of time in the shop, but his sons did. They later earned their livings as carpenters as a result of having a well-equipped place to learn and to work.<sup>18</sup>

During the first decade of Cache Valley settlement most of the furniture was produced in small, individually owned shops. However, there were several attempts at cooperative merchandising. Brigham Young encouraged the Latter-day Saints to be as self-sufficient as possible and to produce what they consumed. United Order cooperatives began to be organized in Cache Valley under the direction of church leaders in the early 1870s. Throughout the decade Mormons consolidated their interests and began manufacturing and selling a variety of goods on a cooperative basis. Christian Hans Monson was appointed to the board of directors of the Richmond Cooperative, indicating that he had traded his business interests for stock in the co-op. He became manager of the sawmill.<sup>19</sup>

Three cooperative manufacturing companies made furniture in Cache Valley: the United Order Manufacturing and Building Company (organized by the Logan Second and Third Wards), the Rich-

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 11–12.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>17</sup>Preston Thomas Morehead History, Smithfield Diaries, Box 3, Fd. 41, MLSC.

<sup>18</sup>Alvin Allen, *Ira Allen: Founder of Hyrum* (Hyrum, Ut.: n.p., 1946), p. 61.

<sup>19</sup>Joseph Carl Felix, "The Development of Cooperative Enterprises in Cache Valley, 1865-1900" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1956), p. 124.

mond United Order, and the Wellsville United Order. The United Order Manufacturing and Building Company prospered, thanks to the businesses that were turned over to it: C.W. Card and Sons' sawmill and P.N. Peterson and Sons' planing mill, both thriving enterprises. The cooperative movement lasted about a decade in Cache Valley, although some of the cooperative stores stayed in business until after the turn of the century. The railroad, which came to Cache Valley in 1873, sounded the death knell for home-manufactured furniture. Hardwood pieces made with new methods back East became available at reasonable prices and began to attract both the consumers' interest and their money.

By 1880 the number of cabinetmakers (craftsmen whose work is limited mainly to furniture and/or finish carpentry) in the valley had shrunk from thirteen to five, while the ranks of carpenters (wood workers whose output was more generalized) had increased along with the population. All but one of the cabinetmakers were doing business in Logan; the fifth was in Smithfield.<sup>20</sup> Cabinetmakers simply could not compete with imported goods.

On December 2, 1885, the Logan *Utah Journal* carried an advertisement lamenting the influx of imported goods to the detriment of home producers and economic self-sufficiency. The advertisement, sponsored by Elias Jensen, a Brigham City firm, was in response to an article that ran earlier in the *Journal*, and it dramatizes the decline in local furniture making:

In the issue of the *Journal* of the 11th of November, is an article on Home Industry, entitled, "Who is Responsible in the present State of Affairs." I would ask, "is it the manufacturer, or is it the buyer." To settle this interesting question satisfactorily will require rather too much time and space; but there is one thing that all can find out. The undersigned will supply the following articles, all of home manufacture, and at such figures as will startle many a dealer in imported goods.<sup>21</sup>

There followed a list including cupboards, flourboxes, and school desks (figure 7). Elias Jensen ran the ad regularly in the *Journal* for several months, and within a short time other furniture dealers were also advertising homemade goods in addition to their imported offerings. The advertising may have drawn some business from the most devout Mormons who wanted to follow Brigham Young's counsel, but the trend toward imported furnishings was clear.

<sup>20</sup>Department of the Interior, Ninth and Tenth Censuses (1870, 1880), Utah Territory, Schedule A, National Archives Resource Service, microfilm copy, MLSC.

<sup>21</sup>*Utah Journal*, December 2, 1885.

## Home Industry.

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The Horse's Friend Sulky Plow,	— — — — —	\$50.00
Cupboards, each,	— — — — —	16.00
Flourboxes, each,	— — — — —	3.00
School Desks, each,	— — — — —	2.50
Peach Trees, all choice, each,	— — — — —	.20

Apples, Pears, Cherries and Plum Trees at prices correspondingly low. These, like other figures, do not need comment. Come to Brigham City and see for yourselves. Look along Main street half a block north of the Tabernacle, opposite E. A. Box's store, and you will easily find a large Furniture Store, where you can get the most for your money, and be waited upon in a gentlemanly manner. by

**ELLAS JENSEN.**

Figure 7. Utah Journal advertisement, December 2, 1885.

Figure 8, below left. Fan-back chair. Unknown wood, brown paint with stripe, H 28 ½", W 16 ½", D 14", seat height (SH) 15". Franklin Museum label reads "Property of E. W. Doney." May have been made by carpenter John Doney.



Figure 9, center. Fan-back chair. Pine, brown paint with white line decoration. H 30 ½", W 14 ½", D 18 ¼", SH 17".

Figure 10, right. Fan-back rocker attributed to David Stoddard, Wellsville, ca. 1865. Pine, oxblood paint, H 28 ¾", W 18 ¾", D 24 ¾", SH 14 ¼". Both in Logan DUP Relic Hall.

### THE FURNITURE

Cache Valley residents could choose from a variety of furniture forms, but certain types appeared over and over, revealing definite preferences among the population. The basic kinds of Cache Valley furniture included the following:

*Windsor-derived chairs* (figures 8, 9, 10). There is no such thing as a classic Windsor chair manufactured during this period in Utah. Soft-

woods, which could not be turned or carved in the same way as hardwoods, were at least part of the reason for this. A common chair design in Utah, which I refer to as the fan-back chair, actually falls somewhere between the true fan-back Windsor and the rod back. The Utah turnings are heavier due to the use of softwoods. In addition, a century of style evolution had taken place since the heyday of the Windsor.

There is such a degree of similarity among all Cache Valley fan-back chairs as to suggest that they were products of one of the cooperative shops, yet minor variations and verbal traditions of provenance make it more likely that they were produced by different makers. The typical Cache Valley fan back had a modified shield-shaped seat, slightly scooped. The legs were splayed outward and doweled into the seat, and the front legs were usually turned with a vase-and-ring pattern. Rear legs were turned but plain. The posts of the back of the chair were vase-and-ring turned, as were the spindles, but the posts were heavier and flattened at the front above the ring. There were always three spindles. The crest of the chair was curved to fit a person's back and was rabbeted to the posts. Crests were decorated in several ways: they could be plain with square or notched corners, they could have an ogee curved top, or they could have a stepped top with rounded corners. Some fan backs were rocking chairs, in which case the shape of the feet and the number of stretchers differed from standard fan backs.

*Figure 11, left. Fancy rocker. Pine, dark brown paint with gold decorations, H 42 ¾", W 20 ½", seat depth 19 ½". Private collection.*

*Figure 12, center. Plain central splat chair attributed to Alice Corbridge Hampton's father. Pine, green paint, H 23", W 17 ¾", D 19 ½", SH 14 ½". Franklin Museum.*

*Figure 13, right. Fiddle-back rocker, possibly by Charles Olsen. Pine, several coats of paint, H 37 ½", W 26 ¾", D 30 ½", SH 14". Logan DUP Relic.*



*Boston rockers* (figure 11), a subcategory of fan-back chairs, had seats and legs like those of standard fan backs; however, the posts and spindles were not turned but square and gently S-curved. Most rockers had six spindles. These chairs had arms, which were S-curved with a rolled handhold. Crests were empire shaped.

*Fiddle-back chairs* (figures 12, 13) were like fan backs in every way, except that instead of spindles they had a central splat that was plain with straight sides or vase- or fiddle-shaped. Crests were plain rectangles or winged empire shaped. These chairs also came in rocker and armchair variations similar to the Boston rockers.

*Slat-back or ladder-back chairs* (figures 14, 15, 16). Most people are familiar with this chair style, which consists of four vertical posts: the two front ones are short, and the two rear ones are long enough to form a back. The front legs were always turned, the rear ones turned or square. Decorative turning on the front legs was optional. The seat was formed like a set of box stretchers, and often rawhide strips were woven across these to create a seat. Other seat materials were wood planks, woven rope, and leather. Numbers of stretchers below the seat vary from four to six, seven, or eight. The back slats, stretching between the two vertical posts, were curved to fit a human back comfortably. There might be two or three slats, and the top one may or may not be decoratively shaped.

Figure 14, left. Slat-back chair. Pine, unknown finish, woven/rawhide seat, H 35", W 18", D 15", SH 16 ½".

Figure 15, center. Slat-back chair with plank seat attributed to John Doney. Pine, dark brown paint, H 31 ¾", W 19 ¼", SH 12". Franklin Museum.

Figure 16, right. Slat-back rocker. Mixed woods, dark brown stain, woven rawhide seat. H 32 ¼", W 18 ¼", D 26 ¼", SH 13 ½". Logan DUP Relic Hall.



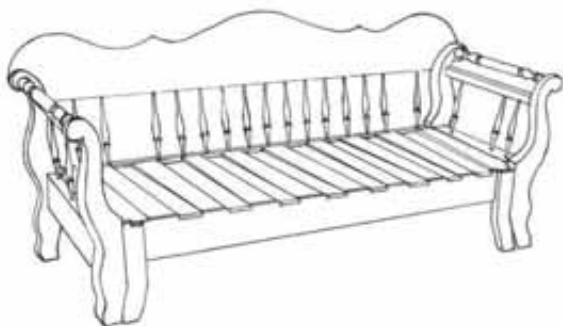
Figure 17. Double lounge, ca. 1885. Pine, stripped, H. 30  $\frac{1}{4}$ ", W 73", D 25", SH 19". Private collection. Frame around seat allowed straw tick to be folded and held inside.



Figure 18. Double lounge attributed to Fred Andersen of Hyde Park, Utah, a Danish plasterer. Pine, several coats of paint, H 31", W 76", D 20  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Private collection.



Figure 19. Double lounge attributed to N.A. Lindquist dated 1860 but more likely ca. 1870. Pine, dark brown paint, H 36  $\frac{1}{2}$ ", W 82  $\frac{1}{4}$ ", D 26  $\frac{1}{4}$ ", SH 14". Logan DUP Relic Hall.



Lounges (figures 17, 18, 19), made and used throughout the country, were so common in Utah that they have become widely known as Mormon lounges. A lounge was a type of sofa-sleeper and often had a section that could be pulled out to form a double bed. The seat was long enough to accommodate an average person lying on it. The double-lounge consisted of two frames with alternating slats. The movable frame, the one that could be pulled forward, did not have a back rail and had only two front legs. The rear frame was supported by four



Figure 20. Round table. Pine, grained to look like light oak, H 30 ½", diameter 35 ½". Private collection.



Figure 21. Rectangular table. Pine, several coats of paint, H 24 ½", W 37 ½", D 22 ½". Franklin Museum.

legs. The double set of front legs fit together in several ways when the lounge was closed. They were usually either turned or cut into a curved empire shape. The arm supports also were either turned or cut into a lyre shape. The arms themselves were either turned or shaped to follow the contours of the lyre curve of the supports. The back consisted of twelve to seventeen spindles and a crest rail cut into a variety of scroll designs. Some pieces, instead of spindles, had a second rail that ran the length of the lounge.

*Tables* (figures 20, 21). Most of the early Cache Valley tables that have survived are round or oval pedestal tables. The pedestal legs usually were scroll-shaped and sharply splayed, and a finial was placed on the bottom of the pedestal where it met the legs. Rectangular tables existed, but very few have survived, probably because they were considered utilitarian and were thrown away when they wore out. Not enough were found to be able to draw conclusions about types.

*Cupboards* (figures 22, 23) came in a variety of forms. The bottom case was always deeper than the top one, and the most common type of



Figure 22, left. Cupboard. Pine, yellow paint over dark brown grained surface, H 78" (bottom 30"), W 42", D 13 ¼" (top), 19" (bottom). Private collection.

Figure 23, right. Cupboard, ca. 1885. Pine (?), refinished. Private collection.

cupboard had two doors in the top case and two drawers over two doors in the bottom case. Sometimes the top doors were glazed, and the frames holding the glass would be anything from plain, with one to six panes, to shapes with decorative curves. Other cupboards had no doors in the top case, just open shelves. The top cases usually had two or three shelves. In those with three shelves, the top one was sometimes ogee-curved. Some cupboards had separate top and bottom cases, which made moving much easier. Others were all one unit. Bottom cases came either with two doors and two drawers or just two doors. Decorative treatment of cupboards usually consisted of a cornice on the top and bracket feet with a scrolled apron at the bottom.

Other furniture forms were made in Cache Valley, but few of them have survived. They were often utilitarian objects like stools (figure 24) and flour bins (figure 25). Baby cradles most commonly had plank sides. No beds made in Cache Valley were found during the course of this research.

Several reminiscences describe selected details of early Cache Valley homes and help to complete the picture of furniture in the area. References to furniture types that have not survived to the present can



Figure 24, left. Weaving stool. Pine, stripped, H 21", W 19  $\frac{3}{4}$ ". D 11  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Logan DUP Relic Hall.

Figure 25, right. Flour bin. Pine, refinished, no inside shelf, H 42  $\frac{3}{4}$ ", W 42  $\frac{3}{4}$ ", D 20  $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Private collection.

be found, along with clues about how the furniture functioned in the houses. The daughter of Christian Hans Monson wrote about the kitchen in a ten-room house built by her father in 1871:

The largest room served as the kitchen, dining room and living room. The floor was nothing but bare boards which had to be scrubbed often to keep the floor neat, sweet and clean. A hand operated water pump and sink were in the northwest corner with a table extending to the east. Along the east wall was a long table with a bench along the wall to seat us at the table.<sup>22</sup>

Mary Ann Crookston Farmer recalled a house in which her family lived, probably around the turn of the century. The kitchen was furnished with a built-in spice shelf and book shelves, a sink and kitchen table, a large cupboard, a rocker and a lounge, a dining table, and a big kitchen stove.

Hannah M. Thatcher, born in 1885 in Benson, remembered her childhood home with a lounge, table, and chairs in the kitchen.<sup>23</sup> Most of the kitchen tables referred to in these memoirs were probably rectangular. Many kitchens also held the only washstand in the house, and if there was not an indoor pump, there was probably a bench holding the water container far enough from the stove for the water to stay cool.<sup>24</sup> A wood box and flour bin would also have been found in most kitchens.

<sup>22</sup>Judd, "Christian Hans Monson," p. 12.

<sup>23</sup>Interview, March 19, 1981.

<sup>24</sup>Nancy H. Richards, "Furnishing Study: 1890 Farmhouse and Summer Kitchen, Jensen Historical Farm," MS, Ronald V. Jensen Living Historical Farm, College of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences, Utah State University, p. 30.

Parlors were not a part of all Cache Valley houses, but, if a family had a parlor, this room housed the family showpieces. Often there were organs—during one period musical instruments were all the rage, whether anyone knew how to play them or not.<sup>25</sup> One parlor was described as having “the customary round table displaying pictures and an album; rocking chairs with upholstered arms and seats; homemade tissue flowers in a vase; embroidered pillows; . . . [and] the bedroom bureau with adjustable mirror which was brought from their home in Kentucky.”<sup>26</sup> Hannah Thatcher said the parlor in her family’s house was closed off from the rest of the house in winter except when company came, thus conserving heat.

The descriptions all seem to give a fairly consistent picture of Cache Valley homes in the nineteenth century. Log houses occupied by early settlers or newly married couples were small and simply furnished with necessities, sometimes cobbled together out of available materials. As families grew and became more affluent they built new houses or enlarged the old ones. They gradually moved from whitewashed walls to plastered and painted ones.<sup>27</sup> Most people had one or two store-bought, imported items like organs, sewing machines, or upholstered chairs, and they might have a valued piece brought across the plains. Such pieces were given places of prominence in the house. The rest of the furniture was manufactured in Utah.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF STYLE

Was there a Cache Valley style in furniture? When we think of style, we think of an identifiable set of characteristics that makes a series of objects unique. Characteristics may result from a variety of factors such as ethnicity or other cultural background, isolation, available materials, function, and belief. Further, style should be defined more by the form of a series of objects than the decoration that is applied to the form. Decoration may reflect personal preferences, subregional differences, or passing fashions. Form, which is a function of practical use and the above-identified characteristics, is more enduring and therefore more indicative of style.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 25; Isaac Sorensen, “History of Isaac Sorensen and Mary Jacobsen Sorensen Written at their Home in Mendon Cache County in the Year 1903,” photocopy of MS in Isaac Sorensen, “History of Isaac Sorensen,” p. 188, MLSC.

<sup>26</sup>Richards, “Furnishing Study,” p. 26.

<sup>27</sup>Sorensen, “History of Isaac Sorensen,” p. 132. For 1891 Sorensen wrote, “This year we plastered the rooms in the front building and upstairs but not the hallway, it seemed that we must go along slow, and so it was, to think that 10 yrs would yet roll along before the hall and the rest of the house would be finished.”

In Cache Valley several conditions might have led to the development of a regional style in furniture. The Mormon cooperative movement and methods of colonizing had potential for influencing furniture design in Cache Valley. As mentioned above, the church generally tried to select groups of colonists with the necessary skills for meeting the immediate needs of a frontier community. A carpenter, for example, was necessary for the building of houses, tools, wagons, and furniture, and was included in the roll-call of pioneers. This approach to colonization affected local furniture styles. Since some cabinetmakers were called to settle several towns in succession, it is likely that diffusion of particular styles would occur throughout the state. For instance, furniture made by L. H. Hatch should be found not only in Cache Valley but also in Lehi and northern Arizona—both areas he helped to colonize. In addition to furniture he made, there should be examples of pieces made by people he worked with or taught during his stay in each area. Because of this practice, a select group of cabinetmakers might be expected to have influenced furniture throughout the Mormon-settled West, thereby creating a recognizably Mormon furniture style.

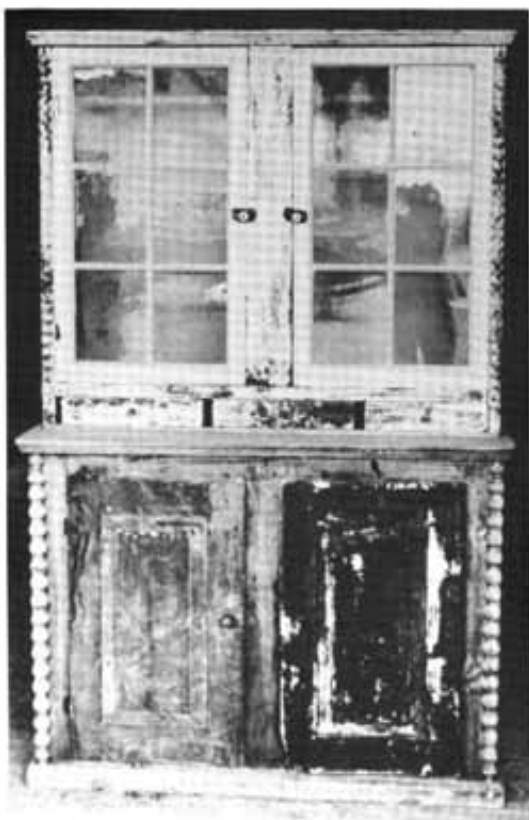
Another potential homogenizing factor in furniture making was the cooperative movement. When cooperatives were formed, several independent businesses joined forces to produce and market goods. These larger companies provided jobs for formerly independent craftsmen, meaning that there was opportunity for the sharing of skills and knowledge among the craftsmen who worked together in a cooperative shop. This sharing would intensify the development of local style.

Despite such integrating influences, other factors worked toward the development of local variation in Utah furniture. Definite subregional differences in Mormon furniture are found, due to the existence of small, isolated communities with a small number of carpenters. The differences between communities is really less a function of subregion than of individual craftsmen and ethnic origins. Thomas Carter has noted the almost universal presence of a curved and notched spoon rack in Sanpete County cupboards dating from 1850 to 1875 (figure 26).<sup>28</sup> This feature appears to be almost totally absent in extant Cache Valley cupboards. There also appears to be a difference in the proportions of cupboards made in the two valleys (figure 27). Preliminary

<sup>28</sup>Thomas Carter, "Spindles and Spoonracks: Regional Variation in Nineteenth-century Utah Furniture," paper read at the annual meeting of the American Folklore Society, Cincinnati, Ohio, October 1985.



*Figure 26. Curved and notched spoon rack in ca. 1870 cupboard in F.C. Sorenson house, Ephraim, Utah. Photograph by Thomas Carter.*



*Figure 27. Spindled cupboard with notched spoon rack, ca. 1865-70. Gunnison, Utah. Photograph by Nancy Richards Clark.*

comparisons show that Cache cupboards tend to be taller and more vertical in design than Sanpete ones, whose proportions between top and base give them a squat appearance. Both valleys had a large Scandinavian (especially Danish) population, so the differences probably are not ethnic but due rather to differing individual styles and preferences. These early Utah communities were small enough that people within them knew each craftsman's work well. If a spoon rack was a well-accepted feature of one artisan's cupboards, it would probably be adopted by others and thus become widespread in the community. If the same craftsmen later joined a cooperative shop, the more popular design features were probably carried over into the co-op's products.

Thus one can see the importance of the individual carpenter in the development of style. In the early phase of settlement, most of the professional furniture making was done by one or two craftsmen in a community. A community's furniture style would reflect the skills and

techniques of those one or two craftsmen, causing styles of furniture to differ slightly from town to town. Those same individuals, even if they joined a co-op, would continue to exert a strong influence. The power of the local craftsman to set style, then, can be seen in both diffusion and variation of furniture forms in Utah.

The economic status of Mormon settlers at the beginning of the settlement period, with exceptions, was fairly consistent; most people were from the lower rungs of the socio-economic ladder. As settlements became established, the separation between rich and poor became more pronounced.<sup>29</sup>

After the railroad came to Cache Valley in 1873 farmers found new markets for their goods in Montana and other areas. This brought cash into the valley, allowing for more commercial interaction with the East. The people were still somewhat isolated in terms of culture and religion, but they were becoming participants in the larger western and American economic picture. In the furniture business this meant that mass-produced hardwood furniture was more easily available to consumers. Having proved their ability to survive as a group and even prosper in the western desert, Mormons desired to continue their upward progress by buying imported furnishings for their parlors. Such pieces were symbols of civilization and accomplishment. The number of such pieces that still survive in Cache Valley living rooms shows that fragments of that symbolism still hang about these furnishings.

Was there a Cache Valley style in furniture? There was the beginning of one. The period of local production before the coming of the railroad to Cache Valley lasted only fourteen years. That is not enough time for the full flowering of a distinctive style. The variations that have been documented—such as spoon racks in cupboards, slight differences in proportions, and preferred foot, crest, and cornice designs—although worthy of notice, are less in form than in decoration. Given a longer period of isolation, these differences might have developed into real community preferences. Ultimately, out of those preferences, a series of subregional styles might have formed within the identifiable category of Mormon furniture. During this short time before the coming of the railroad, however, the individual craftsman dictated the variations found in furnishings from colony to colony within the Mormon-settled West.

<sup>29</sup>A. J. Simmonds, *The Gentile Comes to Cache Valley* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1976), pp. 7–23.



*Jedediah M. Grant residence ca. 1869 when it was occupied by one of Brigham Young's wives. Adobe/cobblestone walls mark sides of the lot, paling the front and rear. Trees were also fenced to protect them from nibbling horses and cattle. USHS collections.*

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## Enclosing a World

BY ESTHER RUTH TRUITT

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**G**ARDENING GREW FASTER IN THE Salt Lake Valley in a shorter period of time than in any other place in America. A season of unprecedented cultivation spanned the late 1840s to the early 1870s. Water flowed

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down almost every street and in front of every door, irrigating gardens and orchards heavy with fruit and flowers. The intense green of thousands of street trees set against wide streets and severe mountains made Salt Lake City appear to some visitors like an Oriental city, reminiscent of sacred Islamic cities, in the middle of the American West.<sup>1</sup>

When the Mormons arrived in the Salt Lake Valley they brought with them a pragmatic city plan designed by their prophet, Joseph Smith. The plan distinguished between city "lots" and "fields" outside the city.<sup>2</sup> The city lots were meant to be true gardens, enclosed pieces of ground devoted to the cultivation of flowers, fruits, and vegetables. Because of this, Salt Lake became a garden-plot city in the tradition of medieval Europe, having a commercial character but growing much of its food in the city. There was a fairly even distribution of lots, and since everyone had land the result was an essentially egalitarian society—an equity reflected in the homogeneity of the built landscape.

Gardens bridged the enormous cultural and geographical gaps by the settlers in the new, semiarid land. Gardens filled with plants of sentiment and homesickness helped to reestablish a family's traditional diet and familiar surroundings. A study of these gardens is important in this context because they serve as an example of how diverse groups were unified under theocratic colonizing.

The dwelling was the focus of the lot, surrounded by orchards, gardens, outbuildings, and workspaces. A wall or fence served as the articulated limits of the lot. As we examine how barriers around the home lot changed with time, we begin to understand something of the frontier psyche among the early Saints and how it changed. Territorial isolation, religious segregation, and political uneasiness all made fences and walls tangible symbols of keeping the world out and protecting that within. Fenceless meant defenseless. But these fences and walls of Salt Lake City were more than lines of defense; they established boundaries and defined a space where each person could create and plant as he or she pleased.

Missionaries promised everyone who would move to Zion a piece of land, something most of the working-class converts had never known.<sup>3</sup> Their incredible enthusiasm for gardening was more than just the initial rapture of having one's own land; it also responded to the challenge and duty to make "the desert blossom as a rose." Further-

<sup>1</sup>Phil Robinson, *Saints and Sinners* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1883), p. 68.

<sup>2</sup>Zion City Plat, map, LDS Church Library-Archives, Salt Lake City.

<sup>3</sup>*Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool, 1854-86), 12:256-57.

more, gardening was a religious act in the sense of contributing to the building up of Zion and commitment to the common good—hard work encouraged with Edenic rhetoric and expectations of divine assistance. Since each family had a piece of land, gardening was an activity for everyone. There appear to have been two parallel traditions of gardening in the pioneer period; the first tradition was an enlightened, exotic one, the second, folksy and whimsical.

Plant experimentation and the study of nature provided intellectual fare for educated pioneers who felt distanced from the scholarly world. William Staines, Edward Sayers, Louis Bertrand, William Wagstaff, Joseph Ellis Johnson, Wilford Woodruff, and Brigham Young were a few “renaissance men” who approached gardening in the valley from a background of intellectual experience. They executed sophisticated experiments, corresponded with the great plantmen of

*Alfred and Melissa Lambson home on the southwest corner of First North and Second West. The unpainted paling, at least four feet high, was characteristic of the pioneer period. Courtesy of LDS Church Library-Archives.*





*The front of the James Glade home at 331 C Street shows the density and assortment of plants used to block out the glaring sun. Box elder trees, lilacs, flags (iris), and virginia creeper were all popular in early gardens. USHS collections.*

continental Europe and Britain, and managed the horticulture and agriculture societies of the territory. There were three separate gardening societies in the Salt Lake Valley during this period—the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society, the Deseret Horticultural Society, and the Domestic Gardener's Society—all with the purpose of educating the public and promoting gardening. Queen Victoria's gardener wrote asking these societies for native seeds and plant specimens, Utah participated in annual exhibitions in Philadelphia, and there was exceptional plant exchanging with gardeners in California.<sup>4</sup> At a time when relations were strained with the rest of the U.S., these Salt Lake gardeners were making their imprint on the world through botany and horticulture.

<sup>4</sup>Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society Minutes, typescript, LDS Church Library-Archives.



*Row irrigation became the lifeline of gardens and farms. Here a man irrigates his potato patch during his watering turn. To the left are the orchard and vineyard every Mormon home enjoyed. USHS collections.*

With the unusual combination of extensive missionary travel and a massive inpouring of immigrants, a countless array of plants and seeds were entering the valley every month, including chestnuts and rice from Japan, “beautiful yellow flowers” from Batavia, grapes from England, olive trees from France, and a host of exotica from India, the Orient, and the Society Islands.<sup>5</sup> The Chinese workers who came to build the railroad also brought seeds and most likely plants from their native land.<sup>6</sup> In reading the minutes of the horticultural societies one gets the impression that many of the plants and seeds arriving in the valley puzzled those receiving them. But it is a testimony to their adventurousness that they planted the items anyway and then distributed them to the home gardener, depending upon the success of the trial cultivation. The quantity of plants entering the valley during this period is

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Interview with John Brinkerhoff Jackson, Santa Fe, New Mexico, July 23, 1986.



*Terrain affected land patterns and, consequently, fencing patterns. Right angles changed to rambling lines that still managed to give a sense of enterprise and ownership.  
Courtesy of LDS Church-Library Archives.*

extraordinary, considering that wagons were the only mode of transportation. Furthermore, the intensity of interest in gardening, considering the geographical and political environment, makes the pioneer accomplishments amazing.

With so much plant material available, Salt Lakers created a hodge-podge style of gardening due to the sheer glut. Horticultural vigor seemed most important during the pioneer period, and aesthetic garden layouts were seldom considered until the early 1870s when more garden books advocating taste and refinement began reaching Salt Lake. Those who weren't interested in all the new plants and exotic flora had utilitarian gardens of fruit trees, vegetables, and swept earth. Lawns did not become an obligatory part of the domestic landscape in America until the lawnmower and the romantic landscape became popular in the late 1850s and 1860s and even later in the Salt Lake Valley.

Shade is what the pioneers were always planning and making, while in other areas of the country clearing the land was more important. In Salt Lake City settlers planted trees to shut out the hot, oppres-

sive glare of the sun. Like the ancient Greeks, they planted trees not for aesthetics but for function: shade and climate control. The planting, tending, and revering of trees was actively preached from the pulpit, and "tree of life" was used both symbolically and literally.<sup>7</sup>

The biggest advantages of the Salt Lake Valley were the streams coming down from the mountains and that there was little to clear. Street-tree planting, irrigation ditches, and fencing could all be established with few dictates from the terrain. The Saints did not attempt to imitate nature but to make their civilized imprint on it, and it is significant that the earliest ordinances passed in Salt Lake City affected the landscape. Of these, fencing had the greatest impact. A fence of pickets or palings at least four and a half feet tall was originally required around each lot. If this was not accomplished within a certain time the owner forfeited his land.<sup>8</sup>

Many cobblestone/adobe walls were also built during the pioneer period, but the Beehive-Lion House complex was the only lot completely surrounded by such walls. Many other lots, usually belonging to one of the church's leaders, had cobblestone/adobe walls on one, two, or three sides, with the remaining sides of picket fencing. The temple block was also surrounded by a high wall which continues to serve the same function today as it did then. Another enclosing wall was attempted around the entire city, but the city grew too rapidly for the wall to continue to encompass it. Few of these walls remain because of the perishable nature of adobe in weather extremes. During this period fences served to keep things *out*, whereas in later periods in the valley fences were erected to keep something *in* (e.g., to protect a child from a speeding automobile). Walls and fences served as barriers against floods, dessicating winds, and wandering domestic animals. That the most attractive, well-built stretch of fence was usually in the front of the lot, diminishing in quality as it retreated further back from view, also indicates that fencing was believed to contribute an element of beauty. Fences also created order, an order that verged on geometry as fences came together at right angles. The idea that "fences make good neighbors" also produced the judgment that vertical margins played an important role in a civilized life and community acceptance.

With the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 non-Mormon citizens became more numerous in local society, and as a

<sup>7</sup>*Gospel Truth, Discourses and Writing of George Q. Cannon*, ed. Jerrald L. Newquist, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1974), 2:230.

<sup>8</sup>Salt Lake City Ordinances, March 10, 1851.

*Robert Dye home at 409 First Avenue, ca. 1885, displays ornamental fencing. It had become so popular that even street trees were being fenced with elaborate iron work. Courtesy of LDS Church Library-Archives.*



whole the population was more receptive to change. The home lot became more ornamental and less utilitarian as more goods from the East flowed in. Fences became lower (despite the ordinances), more delicate, and less opaque as wrought iron replaced the front stretch of pickets on the homes of the more prosperous. The first wrought-iron fence was built by William Timms in 1874 for the Mark Croxall residence, and iron rapidly became the city's most popular fencing material.<sup>9</sup>

The city's character was gradually changing from semirural to urban. Land was at a premium and despite Brigham Young's pleas to keep the lots whole, increased subdividing of city lots resulted in the destruction of fences that nobody bothered to rebuild. Brigham Young knew that the diminishing of the city lot meant the demise of the agrarian values of self-sufficiency. When we observe the changes in barriers around home lots we begin to understand something of the Mormon frontier psyche and how it changed.

Salt Lake City was on its way to becoming a part of the larger American culture in both beneficial and tragic ways. The city's forefathers had had a heroic vision of extraordinary possibilities, and those who were handed the tradition were either ignorant of or insensitive to the relevance of the enclosed city lot as a tangible link to one of the most noble and interesting attempts at an idealized society in history.

<sup>9</sup>*Deseret News*, July 1, 1874.

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# Pioneer Pottery of Utah and E. C. Henrichsen's Provo Pottery Company

BY KIRK HENRICHSEN

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ALTHOUGH IT IS CUSTOMARY TO THINK OF Utah pioneer pottery as just another craft, rising out of pioneer expediency and abandoned with the coming of the railroad, when studied more thoroughly one finds that "the pottery industry of Utah was of much greater dimension than that of its sister states"<sup>1</sup> and more interesting than expected. Not only did it assist the nineteenth-century settlement of the Mormon West, but it continued into the twentieth century.

For the isolated Mormon settlers, preservation of their valuable foodstuffs was a necessity. Age-old methods of cooling fruits and vegetables in root cellars and drying meats in smokehouses were common household practices, but they were limited. For long-term storage earthenware crocks and jars were required. Part I of this essay explains that the demand for these items as well as for other food preparation vessels was met throughout the territory almost exclusively by foreign-born and -trained potters.

Part II presents a detailed examination of the work of one such Danish immigrant potter, Erick Christian Henrichsen, who built in Provo what LDS church historian Andrew Jensen referred to as "the largest pottery plant in the state."<sup>2</sup> Henrichsen's pottery plant was not only Utah's largest but also its most enduring, operating for over half a century until 1927. More interesting than its size and longevity, however, are its production methods and their similarity to the methods of contemporary potteries in Denmark. A survey of the different types of ware produced in this shop over time reveals interesting changes in the daily lives of Utah's citizens and the important contribution Henrichsen and other potters made to the material culture of early Utah.

Mr. Henrichsen, a potter himself, works as a museum exhibit designer.

<sup>1</sup>William C. Ketchum, Jr., *The Pottery and Porcelain Collectors Handbook: A Guide to Early American Ceramics from Maine to California* (Funk and Wagnalls, 1971), p. 43.

<sup>2</sup>Andrew Jensen, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1901-36), 2:9.

Part III concludes that the demise of the pottery industry of Utah did not lie with competition from railroad-imported pottery but with later technical innovations such as glass home-canning bottles that rendered crockery obsolete not only in Utah but throughout the country. It also suggests that the industry as a whole needs to be examined more sympathetically.

## I

Of forty-six Utah pioneer potters identified to date, thirty-three were either British or Danish. Relying upon European artisans to supply the material needs of Utah society had a precedent in the Mormon city of Nauvoo, Illinois. During the 1840s thousands of British converts immigrated to Nauvoo, and by 1845 several pottery shops, operated primarily by artisans from the English pottery center of Staffordshire, had opened there. A portion of an advertisement in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* reads: "We boast of the best material and workmen the United States can afford, being English potters and having worked in the most extensive manufactories in England."<sup>3</sup>

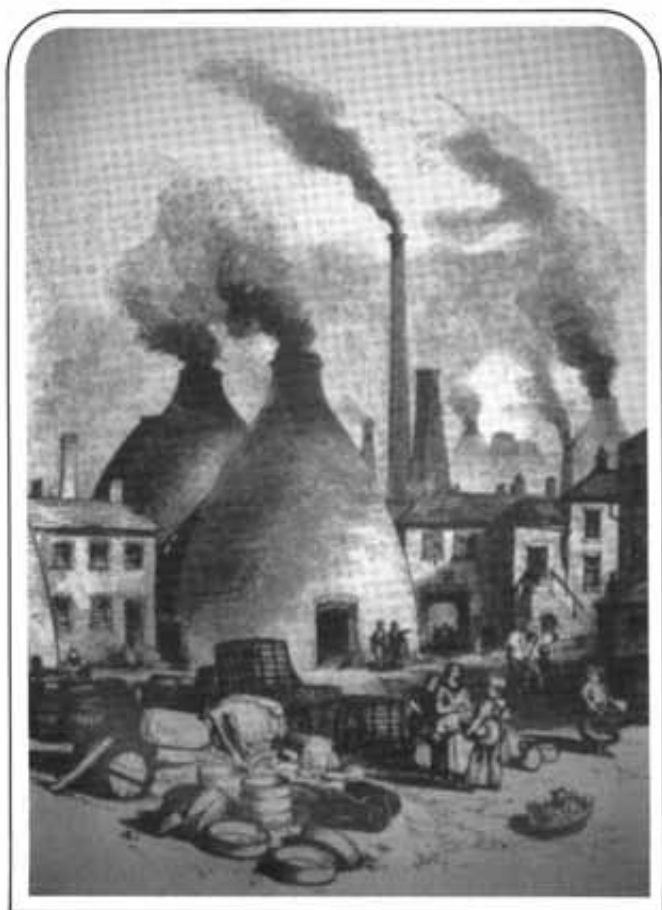
Establishing a pottery manufacturing industry in Utah was of such concern to the Mormon pioneers that Brigham Young solicited the immigration of British Mormon potters. In October 1849 he wrote to Orson Pratt, then president of the British Mission: "We want a company of Potters, we need them, the clay is ready, and dishes wanted. Send a company. . . , if possible, next spring."<sup>4</sup> A notice printed in the *Millennial Star* requested potters and other skilled craftsmen "to emigrate in preference to anyone else, . . . that a good foundation may be laid against the time that others of the poor shall go."<sup>5</sup>

The Industrial Revolution in England greatly influenced pottery manufacturing in Staffordshire (see figure 1). By the mid 1800s it was an extremely large industry geared to mass produce such things as decorative figurines, fine china dining services, and tea sets. These items were then exported to the British colonies worldwide, not only for their obvious uses but also as symbols of English society. Typically, a Staffordshire potter specialized in one task and worked as part of a large assembly line.

<sup>3</sup>*Nauvoo Neighbor*, June 4, 1845.

<sup>4</sup>*Millennial Star*, May 1, 1850, p. 141.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, August 15, 1849, p. 248.



*Figure 1. Pottery kilns in mid-nineteenth-century Staffordshire, England. All illustrations furnished by author unless noted otherwise.*

In June 1850 LDS missionaries in Staffordshire “advised the Pot-  
ters to organize themselves and make preparations for the establish-  
ment of a manufactory in the Valley of the Salt Lake.”<sup>6</sup> With financial  
aid from the church, a number of Staffordshire potters—Ephraim  
Tomkinson, Thomas Ralphs, Francis Pullin, Richard Hewitt, Alfred  
Cordon, Richard Steele, and others—worked from 1848 to 1853 to es-  
tablish and maintain an English-style pottery in Salt Lake City. This  
establishment was called the Deseret Pottery. Though it is difficult to  
determine the exact size and scope of this plant, by frontier standards it  
was very large and sophisticated. Its fine “yellow-ware” was mass-pro-  
duced by typically British means of slip-cast plaster molds and encasing  
the ware in protective ceramic saggars while firing.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Alfred Cordon Diary, 1817-68, p. 1, LDS Church Library-Archives, Salt Lake City.

<sup>7</sup>*Deseret News*, February 21, 1852.

A large Scandinavian immigration also played a major role in the pottery industry of Utah. In 1852 the first company of Danes arrived in Utah, including four potters—Niels Jensen and three of his apprentices—who had operated a successful pottery near Copenhagen. Erastus Snow, first president of the Scandinavian Mission, had selected them and a few others to come to Utah with him, proudly referring to them as “the first contributions from that land [Denmark] to our mountain home in Deseret.”<sup>8</sup> Their Salt Lake City shop quickly rose to prominence, and the apprentices opened their own potteries in outlying Utah settlements. They, along with other Danish immigrant potters, established a strong local pottery tradition in Utah.

The majority of potters in Denmark were familiar with all aspects of producing handmade earthenware and worked in small shops scattered across the country to supply the local need for simple, utilitarian ware. The Danish potters who immigrated to Utah were generally of this type, rather than workers at the Royal Copenhagen porcelain works which, though it rivaled the finest English potteries in the quality of its china, employed relatively few potters. The smaller-scale, hand-production methods of the Danes seem to have been better suited to the isolation of Utah than the large, centralized china production methods used in England.

It is interesting to compare the efforts of the Danish and the British potters during the first few years of Utah settlement. Following the first firing of the Deseret Pottery, operated by British potters, in June 1851, Brigham Young announced his expectations that these potters would soon be producing fine white china equal to any other.<sup>9</sup> After two years of operation they had abandoned Brigham’s high hopes and were still struggling with basic problems. An 1853 *Deseret News* advertisement notes that production was temporarily stopped because the potters required a supply of “dry quaking asp and balsam” to fire their kiln.<sup>10</sup> Historian Andrew Jensen commented that the Deseret Pottery “had to close down in 1853 owing to a scarcity of wood for the furnace.”<sup>11</sup> The Danes experienced similar problems but were willing to use less complicated and unorthodox methods. Only a year and a half after their arrival in the valley, Niels Jensen and his apprentices were producing

<sup>8</sup>Kate B. Carter, ed., *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958-77), 6:310.

<sup>9</sup>Journal History, September 22, 1852, p. 2, LDS Church Library-Archives.

<sup>10</sup>*Deseret News*, February 5, 1853.

<sup>11</sup>Andrew Jensen, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1941), p. 88.

hand-thrown ware "superior to any here-to-fore made in the Territory using sagebrush for fuel."<sup>12</sup> Competition from the resourceful Danes seems to have contributed to the discontinuation of the more complex, church-sponsored Deseret Pottery.

During the summer of 1860 a large pottery enterprise was begun by a second wave of Staffordshire potters: James Eardley, Thomas Latimer, Bedson Eardley, John Cartwright, John Eardley, and Jonah Croxall. They operated with great success during the 1860s and 1870s and sporadically through the 1880s. Though they were originally trained in the potteries of Staffordshire, John Eardley attributed their success to his experience working for several eastern U.S. potteries on his way to Utah.<sup>13</sup> The only Utah pottery to exceed the Eardleys' in size and longevity will be the primary focus of this article.

## II

A close examination of the operation of the Provo Pottery indicates that the production of pottery in pioneer Utah involved much more than just digging some clay, forming it into a bowl, and then burning it in a fire. Technical information and skills necessary to manufacture earthenware successfully were acquired and refined by old-world craftsmen through experimentation and trade. This important information was carefully passed from generation to generation.

Erick Christian Henrichsen's knowledge of pottery manufacture, learned in Denmark and transported to pioneer Utah, later made the transition to the modern era and the twentieth century. His wide variety of experiences, growth, and change makes the study of his work especially interesting. Also, more information is available about the operation of his enterprise than other Utah potteries. Besides contemporary newspaper reports, photographs, insurance records, written histories, and the surviving pottery, some of its last employees were still alive in the 1980s. (Much of the following information was obtained by Lynn and Kirk Henrichsen in interviews with two of E. C. Henrichsen's grandchildren, Paul and Harold Henrichsen, who worked at the pottery as young men.) Their descriptions indicate that, although the type of ware made and some production methods had changed over the years, the basic operation was the same when they were employed as when E. C. built his plant fifty years earlier. This wealth of information

<sup>12</sup>Journal History, June 8, 1854.

<sup>13</sup>"History of John Eardley," MS in possession of author.



*Figure 2.*



*Figure 3.*



*Figure 4.*

made it possible to re-create the layout of the Provo Pottery and give a detailed description of its operation.

This section also compares Henrichsen's enterprise in Provo and

a contemporary Danish pottery works located in the village of Sorring, near E. C.'s hometown, on the Jutland Peninsula. (After determining the layout and production methods of Henrichsen's Provo shop I examined the Danish shop, now preserved at the Frilandsmuseet, a historical village near Copenhagen.) It is interesting to note the remarkable similarities found between the two shops. (See figures 2, 3, and 4.) A Danish description of the village noted that

The country around Sorring was at one time a centre of pottery manufacture, and during the 18th and 19th centuries a large part of the local population was engaged in it, mostly as an extra source of income in addition to farming. The prerequisites essential for large-scale pottery-making were also present for there was suitable clay in the hills around the village, and plentiful fuel to be collected in the woods of the neighbourhood. Last but not least in this context was the long standing tradition of pottery-making.<sup>14</sup>

#### HENRICHSEN'S TRAINING AND IMMIGRATION

Erick Christian Henrichsen, known as E. C., (figures 5, 6, and 7) was born in the town of Veile, Jutland, Denmark, on December 30, 1847. His father, Peter Henrichsen, was a wealthy and prominent resident of the town, involved in the mercantile, brewing, and pottery businesses. According to one source, "He owned the property on an entire street in Veile, which he built up and which bore his name, [Peter Hendriksensgade, now called Staldgardsgade]."<sup>15</sup> As a young man, E. C. attended school, traveled, and studied business methods related to the manufacture and sale of pottery.

At the age of fourteen he started to learn the potters' trade in his father's establishment and worked at the business three years, mastering the practical side of the business, after which he spent some time traveling over Denmark and visiting all the larger potteries of the country, stopping long enough to learn the details of the more important points that attracted his attention. Two years of this kind of work made him the master of some most important and valuable information respecting the manufacture of pottery, and fitted him for the responsible position which he later held in his father's pottery, having charge of the plant for a year.<sup>16</sup>

During this period of training and travel it is very probable that E. C. visited the previously mentioned pottery works in Sorring, only thirty-

<sup>14</sup>Peter Michelsen, *Frilandsmuseet, the Danish Village at Sorgenfri* (Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark, 1973), p. 214.

<sup>15</sup>*Portrait: Genealogical and Biographical Record of the State of Utah* (Chicago: National Historical Record Co., 1902), p. 439.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*



Figures 5, 6, and 7. E.C. Henrichsen as a young man, successful businessman, and civic leader.

five miles north of his home. His extensive training and family tradition help explain his persistence and success at the pottery trade in Utah after others had stopped production.

At the age of twenty he had a comfortable job as manager of his father's pottery. But this position, for which he had long prepared, was short-lived. He soon encountered missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and in January 1868 was baptized. In 1869 he was called to serve a church mission in Norway and Denmark and, to the disbelief of his father who did not share his faith, left his position at their pottery. When he was released from his mission, he did not return to his father's pottery in Veile but immigrated to Utah to prepare a home for his mother and siblings in Zion. He crossed the ocean on the steamer *Nevada*, serving as assistant to the captain of two hundred Saints.<sup>17</sup> After arriving in New York City on November 1, he continued on to Salt Lake City by train.

Twenty years before E. C. left Denmark, Horace Roberts, an American-trained potter, established a pottery in Provo. Under his ca-

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

pable supervision it was very successful until his death in 1868. Family members attempted to maintain the business, but at the time of E. C.'s arrival in Utah its management had been turned over to A. H. Bowen who was in need of skilled potters. After just a few days of sightseeing in Salt Lake City, E. C. and his brother Sigfred August moved to Provo and "at once went to work in an old pottery that was running [there]."<sup>18</sup> A history of Provo notes that "in 1871 Bowen had in his employ two young Danish immigrants, E. C. and August Henriksen."<sup>19</sup>

This relationship did not last long. Perhaps the ambitious E. C. did not feel satisfied working under someone else's supervision, or he may have received invitations from fellow Scandinavians in Sanpete County to make pottery there. A *Deseret News* column requesting assistance in Sanpete County notes, "a potter would be found delighting us."<sup>20</sup> For whatever reason, he and August left the pottery at Provo and for a short period in 1872 pioneered in the new settlement of Fountain Green. A brick-making business had been established there, and the natural clay was reported to be of a superior quality.<sup>21</sup> Though a few other Danish potters are noted in the Ephraim censuses of 1860, 1870, and 1880, E. C. claimed for himself the distinction of producing "the first piece of pottery made by a white man in that County."<sup>22</sup>

In the summer of 1872 E. C.'s mother arrived in Utah with her three youngest children. E. C. and August drove an ox-wagon to Salt Lake City to greet them. Though E. C. was glad to be reunited with his family, the news that his sweetheart, Albine Jensine Pauline Jensen, was with them must have excited him even more. They were married in the Endowment House only five days after her arrival. They all settled in Fountain Green, but conditions there did not seem so favorable now that E. C. had a wife and extended family to provide for. After a few months they moved back to Provo and "established a pottery business in Union Hall, on the west side of West Main Street [500 west, then the major street in Provo]."<sup>23</sup>

E. C.'s ambition was now clear. This location was across the street from and in direct competition with his former employer. E. C. and

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>J. Marinus Jensen, *History of Provo, Utah* (Provo, 1924), p. 290.

<sup>20</sup>*Deseret News*, June 26, 1861, p. 135.

<sup>21</sup>Daughters of Utah Pioneers, *These Our Fathers, a Centennial History of Sanpete County, 1849-1949* (Springville, Ut.: Sanpete County DUP, 1949), p. 229.

<sup>22</sup>*Portrait*, p. 439.

<sup>23</sup>Jensen, *History of Provo*, p. 290.



Figure 8. Two-story Henrichsen home in Provo, left, and pottery, right.

August named this new enterprise, which would soon overshadow the earlier pottery efforts of Provo, Henrichsen Brothers. Apparently, a spirit of cooperation existed between the new and the old establishments, as both shared the same clay digs near 600 North and 500 West, the present location of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers museum and pioneer village. The Henrichsens were successful enough in these rented quarters that the following year they were able to purchase a plot of land between 600 and 700 West on 300 South. On March 16, 1874, the Provo Pottery was officially established. Shortly thereafter August withdrew from the business, leaving E. C. as sole proprietor.

#### SHOP FACILITIES

For a few years E. C. and his wife "Sine" lived in an old home that they had moved onto the lot they had purchased. They built a workshop and kiln on the back side of the house. To the east they added a washer, evaporation ponds, and a pugmill to process the clay. A barn for the horses, which were used to power the equipment, and equipment storage sheds were located on the north end of the property.

After a few years they purchased the adjoining corner lot and constructed a two-story home, said at that time to be "one of the largest and finest homes in Provo."<sup>24</sup> When the new home was completed the pottery production area was expanded. The throwing room, a clay

<sup>24</sup> *Portrait*, p. 440.

storage area, and the greenware drying racks were moved into the old adobe home where temperature and humidity could be better controlled. Additional storage shelves were then added in the former shop area to accommodate the ware awaiting firing in the large kiln. Directly north of the kiln was an area used to stack the large amount of fuel used to fire the ware. On the east side of the shop was a pit for discarding broken pots; on the west there was an area where finished pots were stacked, packed in wild timothy hay to prevent breakage, and then loaded onto wagons to be transported to customers. The operation now covered a full quarter block (figures 8 and 9).

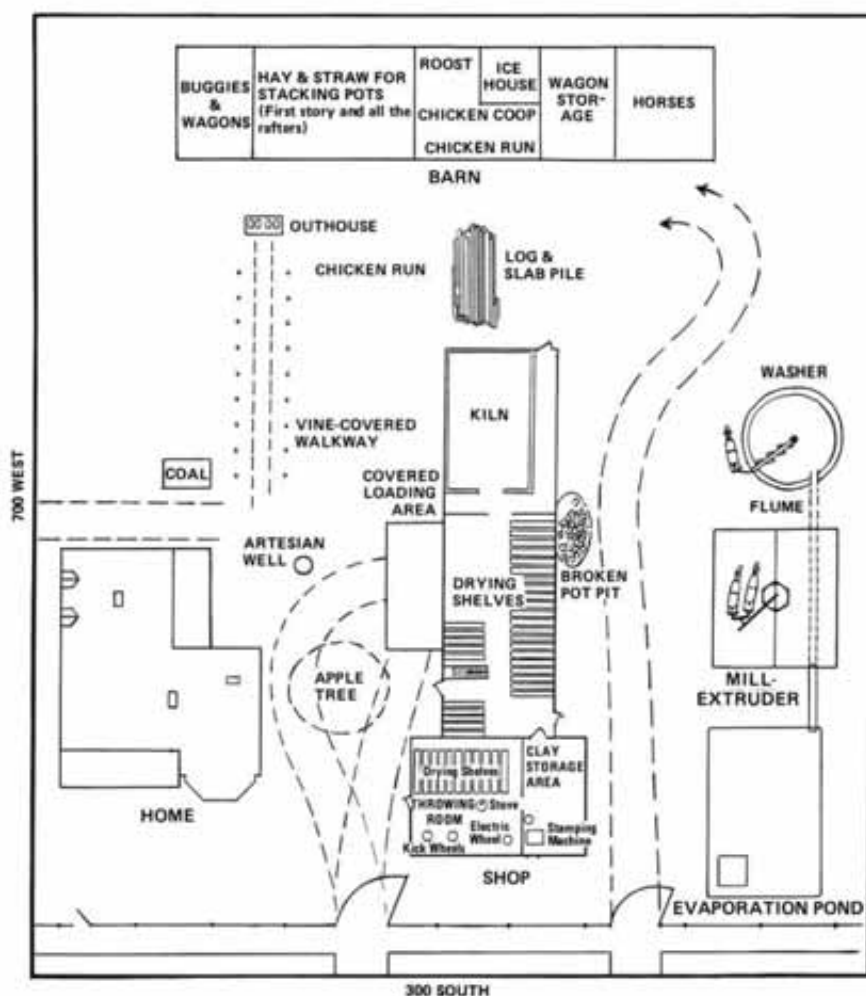


Figure 9. Henrichsen pottery, 300 South and 700 West, Provo, Utah.

## MINING, PROCESSING, AND STORING THE CLAY

Of critical importance to the success of the pottery was the quality of the clay used. Horace Roberts attributed much of his early success at making pottery in Provo to the quality of the clay found there. One researcher has stated, "Utah county has more sedimentary clay than any of the other counties in the State of Utah."<sup>25</sup> E. C. surveyed the valley for just the right kind of clay and eventually purchased property for his own clay digs at 200 West and 1200 North, near where the Provo High School football field is now located. This clay was well suited to the production of earthenware, while just one block to the north the clay was not. The less suitable clay could be used for bricks, however, and later became the site of the Provo Brick and Tile Company. J. Joseph Johnson, an employee who hauled clay for the Provo Pottery, also mentioned getting clay from the foothills east of Provo.<sup>26</sup>

The four-acre clay tract was about fifty feet wide and ran parallel and adjacent to the millrace canal. There were usually about five active pits at a time on the property. Most of the pits were approximately four feet by eight feet and descended through topsoil, subsoil, and rocks before reaching the clay layer, which varied from six to ten feet in depth. One man would shovel the clay out, and another would throw it into a wagon. Some pits were large enough that the wagon itself was backed down into them to be loaded. After the digging was finished the pits filled with water. (E. C. reportedly worried that a worker would leave the gate open and a wandering cow would fall into a water-filled pit and drown.) Because the clay was constantly moving underground emptied pits usually refilled with clay within a few years, so digging rotated from pit to pit. Removing the heavy, slippery clay was not easy work, nor was it without danger. The story is told that E. C. himself was once completely buried in a cave-in at the digs. The experience was such a terrible ordeal that, although he was rescued, he requested that when he died his wrists be slit to ensure that he would not be buried alive again.

Once mined and loaded into wagons the raw clay was hauled to the pottery, but it was far from being ready for use. It was full of impurities and had to be washed and strained to remove sand, dirt, and debris. This was accomplished in a large bowl-like earthen mound

<sup>25</sup>Emma Cynthia Nielsen, "The Development of Pioneer Pottery in Utah" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1963), p. 12.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 26.

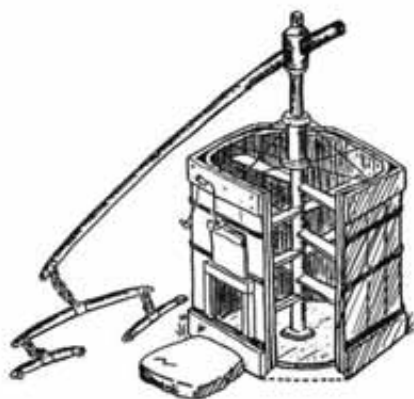


Figure 10. Mill-extruder with one side removed to show interior.

"enclosed in a low plank wall,"<sup>27</sup> about three feet high, fifteen or twenty feet in diameter, and lined with clay. The washer was filled with water, and then the clay was shoveled in. Attached to a center post with a type of swivel was a large revolving beam with railroad spikes extending down from it six or eight inches like a harrow. A chain attached to its outer end was hitched to a singletree, and a horse pulled it around and around the post. As the soupy mud in the washer was mixed with "a continual stream of water from a hose,"<sup>28</sup> connected to the artesian well on the property, the floating debris (roots, leaves, etc.) was skimmed off the top. The clean watery clay was then drained off into

the evaporation pond through a six-inch-high wooden flume. Where it passed the pugmill portable sections could be removed (figure 9.)

The evaporation pond, approximately twenty feet wide by thirty feet long and two feet deep, was lined with brick and had wooden plank sides. In its still waters the suspended clay particles separated and settled. In one corner a pit about six feet deep filled with especially heavy clay. After excess water was drained off the surface the wet clay required about two weeks to dry to the right consistency. When the settling and evaporation process was finally completed, the pond contained a layer of pure clay twelve to eighteen inches thick with a one- or two-inch layer of silica (sand) on top. The silica was scraped off with a flat shovel, and some of it was used for making glaze.

The wet clay was loaded into wheelbarrows and transported to the pugmill, or extruder, to be prepared for storage. The pugmill was covered with a roof about ten feet high and was located between the washer and the evaporation pond near the side door to the old adobe house. It was a double-walled wooden tank approximately five feet in

<sup>27</sup>Kate B. Carter, ed., *Treasures of Pioneer History*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1952-57), 2:318.

<sup>28</sup>LaVon H. Jones, "Historical Sketch of Erick Christian Henrichsen and His Wife Albine Jensine Pauline Jensen Henrichsen," 1979, p. 9., MS in possession of author.

*Figure 11. Sorring, Denmark, pottery with pugmill in foreground.*



*Figure 12. Interior of Sorring pugmill.*



diameter and four feet deep (figure 10). The round inner wall was made of tightly fitted maple staves, the hexagonal outer wall was reinforced with welded steel bands, and the space between the inner and outer walls was packed with clay. A steel axle with blades about three-eighths of an inch thick and three inches wide was supported vertically through the center of the tank and had a long wooden crossbar attached to its upper end. A team of horses hitched to the crossbar walked around the pugmill rotating the blades through the clay. The process thoroughly mixed the part-wet, part-dry clay from the evaporation pond as it was shoveled into the tank a little at a time. The steel blades were angled so that in addition to mixing the clay they forced it downward. When the clay was ready a small door (about one-foot square) near the bottom of the mill was opened, and through it a steady stream of clay was extruded onto a piece of flat sandstone lying on the ground. A quick worker had to dodge the passing horses, cut off a one-foot cube of extruded clay with a wire, carry the heavy block to the storage room, and then return to repeat the process before too much more clay had been extruded. Harold Henrichsen remembers doing this job as a boy

for fifty cents a day. A 1924 account of the pottery in Sorring, Denmark, describes the process very similarly: "The kneading machine is outside the house and is drawn by horses. You put the clay in at the top and it's kneaded inside and comes out at the bottom."<sup>29</sup> (See figures 3, 11, and 12.)

To keep the clay cool and moist a full room of the old adobe house was dedicated to storing the "pugged" clay. (When clay is stored for a time before throwing it attains a greater plasticity and responds more readily to the potter's hands.) Some early Utah potters farmed in the summer and threw pots only during the winter, but the Provo Pottery operated year round. Summer was an especially busy time since the workers at the pottery had to mine and prepare enough clay during the warm months to last them through the winter.

#### THROWING AND GLAZING THE WARE

An accomplished potter, E. C. could turn out several dozen pieces in a day. Just by feel, without having to stop to measure dimensions, he could throw a jar to hold exactly one quart, one gallon, or whatever capacity was desired. The large pieces shown in the photograph of his display at the 1889 and 1890 territorial fair (figure 28), especially the eighteen-inch umbrella stands, attest to his throwing skill. His granddaughter LaVon Henrichsen Jones remembers her amazement as a child watching him:

A flat surface was used to place the piece of clay on, which was operated by grandfather's foot moving back and forth to turn the clay as grandfather would place his thumb in the center of the clay, his fingers shaping and molding it to the proper size and shape. It was always somewhat of a miracle to me to see him turn out hundreds of flower pots, saucers, churns, jars, etc., with no pattern and have them identical in size and shape.<sup>30</sup>

His granddaughter was not the only one fascinated by the pottery works. Children from the nearby Franklin School would often gather at his shop to watch. E. C. would sometimes give them "clay to play with or to fashion some object that interested them . . . little pots, vases, etc., that he would burn for them in the kiln."<sup>31</sup>

He also employed other potters (two that have been identified are Asel and Charles Green) to operate his several foot-powered wheels (figures 13 and 14). Reports vary as to whether they were kick or

<sup>29</sup>Aarhus Stifts Aarbøger XVII (Aarhus, Denmark, 1924), p. 2. This yearbook contains an article by Af Niels Asbaek, "Pottemageriet paa Sorringengnen" ("Pottery Making in Sorring"); a translation by Peter Linden is in possession of author.

<sup>30</sup>Jones, "Historical Sketch," p. 9.

<sup>31</sup>Carter, *Treasures*, 2:319.



Figure 13. Foot-powered kick wheel



Figure 14. Kick wheel work area of Sorring pottery.

treadle wheels; very possibly both types were used over the years. Sometime after 1890 an electric wheel was added, though it was reserved for E. C.'s personal use.<sup>32</sup>

Various types of pottery pieces were made (figures 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21). Although some pieces were decorative, for the most part they were utilitarian in nature. Ware made entirely on the potters wheel at Henrichsen's pottery works includes: fruit jars, butter jars, cream jars, bean pots, pickling crocks, butter churns, milk pans, and plain and fancy flowerpots. Other ware, such as pitchers, jugs, vases, umbrella stands, foot warmers, flower vases, and piggy banks, were made by combining wheel-thrown bodies with hand-built construction or press-molded decoration. Some ware attributed to the Provo Pottery, especially the matched sets of mixing bowls, indicates that the pottery may have had facilities for producing jigger-molded ware. (Jigger-molded ware was made by using a plaster mold to shape one surface of the piece in combination with the rotating potter's wheel.) Though specimens are very rare, some of E. C.'s ware was stamped on the side: "Provo Pottery, E. C. Henrichsen Prop."

The newly formed pot was placed on a greased plank next to the wheel. When the plank was full a worker carried it to the drying area and returned with an empty plank. A contemporary description of the shop in Sorring notes: "A thrifty potter can make about ten plates, bowls or crocks an hour which he puts on a removed shelf plank. When a plank is full it is moved up to the ceiling on some wooden rods or

<sup>32</sup>Jensen, *History of Provo*, p. 240.



Figures 15, 16, 17. Left to right: jug, two-gallon storage jar, decorative umbrella stand.



Figures 18, 19, 20, 21. Left to right and below: three-gallon crock, small pitcher or creamer, jug, piggy bank.



dowells, where they are dried. There are usually two rows of shelves above each other all over the workshop."<sup>33</sup> (See photograph of Sorring shop interior.) The Provo shop reportedly had three layers of these space-saving ceiling shelves as well as a set of floor-to-ceiling racks in the throwing room (to allow the freshly thrown ware to dry slowly), and another, larger set of racks in the kiln room for dry ware waiting to be fired.

Watertight vessels required glazing, while flower pots were fired without glaze so they would remain porous. Henrichsen, like other potters of the period, fired his ware only once, applying the glaze to the unfired ware. The ware was very fragile in its unfired state and had to be handled with great care. His daughter-in-law Beulah Henrichsen recalls that when the pots were dry "the glaze was poured in and out of the pot; then Antone Ericson took a brush dipped in the jar of glaze and swished it around the outside, covering it with a solid coat of glaze."<sup>34</sup> It is probable that at first E. C. used a simple lead glaze. But later he reportedly had a secret glaze recipe, using silica recovered from the processed clay, which left the ware a natural, yellow tan color.

#### LOADING THE KILN AND FIRING THE WARE

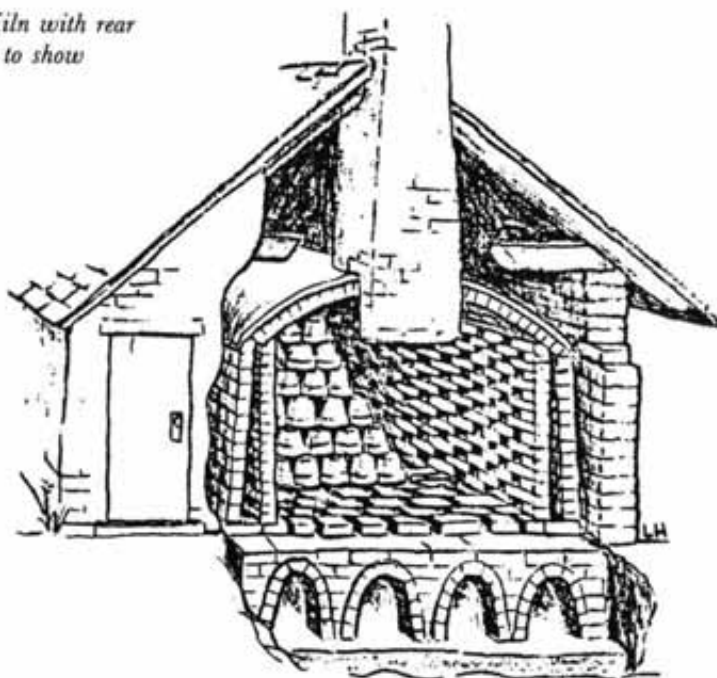
After enough pots were thrown, glazed, and completely dried, they were loaded into the kiln, located inside of the shop and large enough for a man to walk inside (figure 22). In order to fire as many pieces as possible at one time the pottery was carefully stacked, with "pots, pans, etc. . . . placed in the kiln one row at a time, with the next row sitting on the outer edge of the one under . . . so that the fire would get around each piece and in this way the pottery would be baked and hardened."<sup>35</sup> When loading the unglazed flowerpots, an X-shaped crosspiece of fired clay was first placed on the floor. Upside-down pots were placed on top of the crosspiece in a nesting arrangement, with the smallest pot in the center being covered with increasingly larger ones. Thus, up to six pots (from two to twelve inches in diameter) took up the floor space of only the largest one. On top of this pot, another crosspiece was placed and then another group of pots was stacked. This process continued until the stack of pots reached the ceiling, about six feet above the floor. Then another stack was begun. Loaded in this way, the full kiln could hold four or five thousand pots.

<sup>33</sup>Aarhus Stifts Aarbøger, p. 4.

<sup>34</sup>Nielsen, "The Development of Pioneer Pottery," p. 35.

<sup>35</sup>Carter, *Treasures*, 2:318.

Figure 22. Kiln with rear wall removed to show interior.



When this job was done, the kiln door was bricked up and plastered with clay (except for a peephole at the top and the bottom) to keep the heat in and prevent drafts of cool air that might crack the pots during the firing. The arched roof of the kiln was also plastered for the same reason. A bucket of mud was always kept handy during a firing just in case the plaster cracked and needed a quick patch. The kiln's double-layered walls, arched roof, and floor were all made of fire brick. The floor was built over a pit into which fuel from the log and slab pile outside was fed. Spaces were left between the bricks of the inner wall and the floor so that heat could enter the kiln from the fire pit below. The fire pit was two or three feet deep and extended the length of the kiln.

The Sorring pottery kiln (figures 23, 24) was smaller but constructed inside of the shop in an almost identical manner:

The Kiln looks very much like a bakers oven but it's a lot larger. It's about three meters long and two meters wide and the height inside is about one and one-half meters. Crocks, pots, and bowls are put on top of each other inside the kiln. Then it is closed with a big piece of iron plate, which is sealed with clay around the edge. At the same end as the oven opening there are air channels of the size of a roof tile. And at the other end of the oven there are three places where you build the fire.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup>Aarhus Stifts Aarboger, p. 5.



Figures 23 and 24. Sorring pottery kiln

Once the kiln was loaded the most exciting process was ready to begin. A firing lasted three or four days and required the work of several assistants day and night. "Several cords of wood [were] piled"<sup>37</sup> just north of the kiln. When possible, apple wood was used because it "gave a good steady heat for a long time,"<sup>38</sup> but it was not always available. So E. C. used whatever wood he could get—often long slabs of rejected wood from Ahlander's lumberyard. Fuel was loaded into the fire pit from outside through four arched doors in the rear. For the first two days wood was burned until the pots were heated to a bright gray. Then coal was added for more intense heat. (Other reports mention these fuels being used in the opposite order—coal then wood.)<sup>39</sup>

The description of firing the kiln in Sorring adds a few more details which also apply to E. C.'s firing method:

They warm up the kiln with small fires for a couple of hours. Then the fire is put to full blast, so that all the clay articles will get red hot. It takes about

<sup>37</sup>Jones, "Historical Sketch," p. 9.

<sup>38</sup>Nielsen, "The Development of Pioneer Pottery," p. 33.

<sup>39</sup>Jones, "Historical Sketch," p. 9, and Carter, *Treasures*, 2:318.

twenty four hours to fire the kiln full of pots. There has to be three men to keep the firing going because they have to feed the three fireplaces at the same time, so the heat is even through the kiln. They use beachwood for the fire which is cut into a particular length. Several minutes have to pass between each time they put in a new lot. When the clay articles are totally fired, all the fireplaces and air channels are closed off with clay. Then the kiln will sit a couple of day before the articles are taken out. It takes a lot of practice to fire the pots.<sup>40</sup>

When a firing was going on, the workers were seldom alone. Visitors from all over the city would come to watch the firing. According to one description, "The heat was intense but they would sit by the hour and watch and talk, tell stories and laugh. The Second Ward choir loved to come after rehearsals and sing, as they enjoyed this unusual relaxation."<sup>41</sup> The flames were quite spectacular, roaring from the fire pit through the honeycombed floor and walls of the kiln and up through the sixteen-foot chimney. At their peak, they reached as high as eight feet above the chimney top into the night sky. It is interesting that this type of gathering was also a common, perhaps ancient, custom in Denmark. The 1924 description of firing the kiln at Sorring notes:

Everybody got together to watch the kilns and entertain themselves telling stories and singing to each other. It would become a big community party. In earlier times, . . . they would drink several buckets of strong beer and the party would get out of hand a little bit and get very noisy and raw. But that's completely gone now. Today [1924] there is a certain poetic feeling about these evenings. They write special poems about making pottery called pottery oven fun.<sup>42</sup>

For three days and nights (some reports say four days and nights),<sup>43</sup> the fire was constantly tended by E. C. and one or two other workers to assure that it kept burning at a gradually increasing temperature. No mechanical means or cones were used to measure the kiln temperature. E. C. judged the temperature just by looking inside the kiln through various peepholes. He then regulated the evenness of the heat by calling out directions to the workers to add more wood or open a vent. They gradually increased the intensity of the fire until "white heat" had been achieved for the proper amount of time. Then they let the fire die and E. C. could finally rest. The kiln "had to be left sealed for a week or ten days for the pottery to cool" slowly.<sup>44</sup> Then the door

<sup>40</sup>Aarhus Stifts Aarboger, p. 6.

<sup>41</sup>Jones, "Historical Sketch," p. 9.

<sup>42</sup>Aarhus Stifts Aarboger, p. 9.

<sup>43</sup>Carter, *Treasures*, 2:318.

<sup>44</sup>Jensen, *History of Provo*, p. 290.

was opened and the pots were removed from the kiln, tapped for flaws, and stacked near the loading area. Broken and flawed pots were thrown in the pit at the east side of the shop.

#### MARKETING THE FINISHED PRODUCTS

Despite their quality the finished pots did not sell themselves. E. C. had to be a salesman as well as a potter to make his business profitable, and he did succeed "in building up a large trade."<sup>45</sup> (Rural Danish potters were traditionally responsible for marketing as well as making their ware. Staffordshire potters, on the other hand, relied on the company management for sales.)

E. C. sometimes made deliveries himself, driving a horse-drawn wagon long distances. He often took advantage of these trips to make personal contact with his clients and secure additional orders. The Provo newspaper followed his movements: "Mr. E. C. Henrichsen of Provo, was in town [Richfield] last week drumming up his pottery business. . . . He has come along through the settlements of Sanpete and Sevier and will swing over into Millard and Beaver on his return home"<sup>46</sup>; "E. C. Henrichsen started south this morning on a business tour through Juab, Sanpete and Sevier counties"<sup>47</sup>; "Mr E. C. Henrichsen, Proprietor of the Provo pottery, has returned from a business trip in northern Utah."<sup>48</sup> These trips might last for weeks, so he did his best to make them enjoyable by boarding with Scandinavian friends and family throughout the territory. By 1890 the Provo Pottery had "three or four freight wagons [figure 25] . . . constantly used in shipping these wares to the various parts of the Territory."<sup>49</sup> In 1888 the *Salt Lake Herald* noted that

. . . this home industry is gradually increasing its field of usefulness, and shipping its goods to every part of the Territory. A large force of men is engaged in the manufacture of all kinds of pottery, and large shipments are being daily made. Mr. Henrichsen, the proprietor, has at present a large and finer stock of flower pots, jars, and milk-pans than was ever seen in Utah.<sup>50</sup>

While many of the other Utah potteries declined during the 1880s and 1890s, E. C. had a keen eye for business and a willingness to work

<sup>45</sup>Aarhus Stifts Aarboger, p. 9.

<sup>46</sup>Daily Enquirer (Provo), May 12, 1894, reprinted from *Richfield Advocate*.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., August 7, 1893.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., October 13, 1893.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., April 25, 1890.

<sup>50</sup>Salt Lake Herald, April 10, 1888.



Figure 25. Provo Pottery Company wagon loaded for delivery. Note pots in shop window.

day and night that enabled him to build up a large trade network throughout the state. As business continued to grow, pots were eventually shipped out of state by train.

The Mormon ideal of self-sufficiency was strong, and people were encouraged to purchase locally made goods as late as 1894. After reviewing his travels in 1890, the *Richfield Advocate* then gave E. C. some free promotion: "We see no good reason why this branch of home industry should not be extensively patronized to the exclusion of imported wares. The freight from the East on such goods is high and when these articles are made in the Territory, they should come as cheap or cheaper than the imported, and the cash outlay is saved in the Territory."<sup>51</sup>

A sampling of prices of E. C.'s wares at the time is interesting:

- 1 quart jar with cover, 10 cents
- 1 gallon bean pot, 25 cents
- 6 gallon jar with cover, \$1.30
- 6 gallon churn with cover, \$1.30
- Small flower pot with saucer, 8½ cents
- Large flower pot with saucer, 40 cents<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup>*Daily Enquirer*, April 25, 1890.

<sup>52</sup>Jones, "Historical Sketch," p. 9.

The *Deseret News* gives an idea of the size and scope of the works in 1888:

The Provo Pottery turned out goods to the amount of \$5,000 last year, employing six to seven hands all the year round. There would have been a healthier showing even than this, had it been a better fruit year. Seeing that the industry has doubled its capacity and intends running at full blast, without stopping a day, the manufactured goods will amount to at least \$10,000 during 1888.<sup>53</sup>

Two years later the *Daily Enquirer* reported on the increased production capabilities of the Provo Pottery: "The capacity of the works are about 4000 gallons per month which requires a burning of about two times per month. . . . The stock of crockery ware on hand consists of about 1500 gallons besides thousands of flower pots."<sup>54</sup> An advertisement (figure 26) that ran from 1887 to 1892 informed the public that the Provo Pottery was "the only place in Utah and adjoining Territories that is prepared to fill orders for Crockery by car load lots."<sup>55</sup> By 1890 "Z.C.M.I. of Salt Lake and Ogden and many other large institutions [were] provided with their stock of crockery from this source."<sup>56</sup> The company's stationery (figure 27) also promoted the business.<sup>57</sup>

The Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Fair provided another means of advertising the firm. The list of 1888 awards includes "E. C. Henrichsen, Provo . . . Quality earthenware . . . \$3.00." But that year the silver medal was awarded to Bedson Eardley of Salt Lake.<sup>58</sup> The competition offered by this Salt Lake City pottery demanded that E. C. improve the quality of his ware. The following year he assembled a better exhibit and received the award for the "best display of earthenware, fruit jars, vases and flower pots."<sup>59</sup> In 1890 he again won first place. The title on his display (figure 28) announced, "You can handle the Provo Pottery ware to your heart's content. It will stand it." Following this success he printed a new business card (figure 29) acclaiming the Provo Pottery to be "The leading pottery in Utah."

The Provo Pottery butter churn, noted in 1890 as "gaining popular favor very rapidly," was in such great demand that it was "utterly impossible to keep pace. . . ." Though this and other utilitarian household wares were still being produced in the late 1800s,

<sup>53</sup>*Deseret News*, January 10, 1888.

<sup>54</sup>*Daily Enquirer*, April 25, 1890.

<sup>55</sup>E. C. Henrichsen Scrapbook in possession of LaVon H. Jones.

<sup>56</sup>*Daily Enquirer*, April 24, 1890.

<sup>57</sup>Provo Pottery business stationery in possession of author.

<sup>58</sup>*Deseret News*, October 14, 1888.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, October 19, 1889.



Figure 26. Advertisement.



Office of property  
*E. C. Henrichsen*  
 FRUIT JARS, BUTTER JARS, CREAM JARS, FANCY & PLAIN FLOWER POTS, ETC.  
 Agent for lowest prices  
*Provo City, Utah Oct 22 1897*

Figure 27. Letterhead.



Figure 28. Provo Pottery display at the 1890 territorial fair.



Figure 29. Business card.

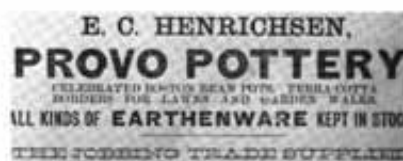


Figure 30. Advertisement.

a new, less traditional product, "the chimney flue, . . . [was] also becoming very popular."<sup>60</sup> Other new products filled a demand for decorative items.

Growing interest in ornamental horticulture during this period provided the impetus for a new line of Provo Pottery products—decorative terra-cotta vases and borders for lawns and garden walks (figure 30)—described in the Provo newspaper:

This morning Mr E. C. Henrichsen, proprietor of the Provo Pottery, showed us a beautiful specimen terra cotta vase, produced at his works. It is an excellent feature, either for lawn, garden or parlor purposes, being neat, attractive and durable. Were also shown some terra cotta edgings for flower beds, lawns, etc. These are magnificent for putting around the lawn, as they make a most substantial and ornamental border.<sup>61</sup>

E. C. used his own yard and garden to showcase these products: "E. C. Henrichsen of the second ward, has laid out his garden very nicely and in an attractive manner, which adds grandeur to his fine residence."<sup>62</sup> Just two weeks later the Provo newspaper announced his intention to build an additional facility to produce these new products: "Mr. Henrichsen is at present trying to secure some suitable location which shall not be too far from the city or clay beds and shall be near the railroad. . . . it is the gentleman's intention to place in operation a clay working plant for the manufacture of fine frontage bricks, garden etchings, drain tiles, etc."<sup>63</sup> In late May 1890 the newspaper noted: "E. C. Henrichsen expects to have his brickyard open in a week or so."<sup>64</sup> Whether this venture was as successful as he anticipated is difficult to determine, but E. C. did recognize that times were changing and adapted accordingly.

#### THE SHIFT TO MASS PRODUCTION

Around the turn of the century demand for kitchen crockery began to decrease, but E. C. observed that the florist trade was expanding. Hand-thrown, unglazed flower pots had been included in his product list for many years (figure 31). As they began to make up a larger portion of his sales he looked for a way to increase their production and cut their price. About 1912 he was approached by a man selling an

<sup>60</sup>*Daily Enquirer*, April 25, 1890.

<sup>61</sup>*Utah Enquirer*, May 18, 1888.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, April 12, 1890.

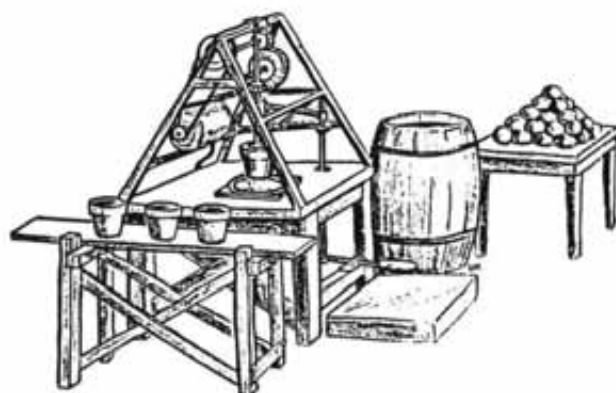
<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, April 25, 1890.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid.*, May 27, 1890.

Figure 31. Provo Pottery flowerpots, hand thrown (left) and machine stamped (right).



Figure 32. Pot-stamping machine.



elaborate, mechanical contraption guaranteed to increase the rate of flowerpot production.<sup>65</sup> E. C. expressed an interest in the machine but did not purchase it. Instead, he designed his own machine and had it built (figure 32). Parts of it (at least the milled steel molds) came from a foundry in Chicago. The tablelike base held an outer mold which varied in size from two to twelve inches in diameter. Above this, a matching inner mold was placed on another part of the machine that not only rotated (driven by an electric motor) but also moved down as a pedal near the floor was pressed. Producing flowerpots with this machine involved two or three workers. One brought clay from the storage area, rolled it into a long sausagelike cylinder, then pinched off pieces just the right size and rolled them into balls. These were stacked in a pyramid on a table near the machine. One by one, the balls were

<sup>65</sup> Jones, "Historical Sketch," p. 9.

dipped in a barrel of oil to lubricate them and placed into the bottom of the outer mold. The person operating the machine (usually E. C. himself) then forcefully lowered the inner mold by stepping on the pedal, and the pressure formed the clay into a flowerpot shape. Typically, it took three hard pumps on the pedal (the number varied with the size of pot being made) to form a pot completely since the clay was quite stiff. Once the pot was formed and trimmed, the pedal was released, the inner mold rose back to its starting position, and another worker carefully removed the pot from it. Although the steps of this pot-stamping operation were numerous, with some requiring strenuous effort and others great delicacy, a team of experienced workers could produce a pot every thirty seconds. Many hundred could be made in a single day.

The importance that the florist trade played in E. C.'s later business is illustrated by this newspaper notice: "The Provo Pottery has shipped 22,000 flower pots north during the last three weeks. Who says Provo ain't booming?"<sup>66</sup> By the 1920s, with the addition of the machine for stamping flower pots, Marinus Jensen reported, "His manufactures at present consist largely of flower-pots, of which he produces a quarter of a million each year."<sup>67</sup>

In 1896 E. C. decided to diversify his business by establishing the BYA Grocery. He then borrowed additional money to enlarge it into a substantial business which he renamed Henrichsen Mercantile Co. All was going well until 1903 when he was called to return to Scandinavia as an LDS missionary. He wanted to accept the call but felt unable to because of his indebtedness. When a surprise offer was made to purchase the mercantile business, he accepted and used the proceeds to clear himself of debt and finance his mission.<sup>68</sup>

Though his pottery business was doing well at the time, the Utah pottery trade in general was failing. Other potteries in the state had recently closed, so this was a very precarious time for E. C. to leave. But just as he had left the prosperous position at his father's pottery earlier in his life to serve a church mission, he left again, not knowing what to expect when he returned.

He served much of this mission as district president in Norway under the direction of John A. Widtsoe. Then in March 1906 he returned home. Thinking of his former mercantile business, he stopped

<sup>66</sup>E. C. Henrichsen Scrapbook.

<sup>67</sup>Jensen, *History of Provo*, p. 290.

<sup>68</sup>Jones, "Historical Sketch," p. 5.



Figure 33. Imported ware.

in Chicago to visit his primary supplier, the Marshall Field & Co.,<sup>69</sup> but he did not reestablish business with them. He had an interesting idea about how to keep the pottery business viable by putting his retail experience to work and importing as well as producing ware. He stopped in Denver, Colorado, where he noted the following in his diary, "Visited the Denver Pottery and met Mr. [illegible name]. Made arrangement to handle their goods in 60 days. Visited also the Western Pottery Manufacturing Co."<sup>70</sup> Rather than surrender to the outside competition in 1906, he acknowledged the market for the more durable, mass-produced white stoneware crockery that Utah clay did not allow him to produce (figure 33). As the regional distributor of imported ware, E. C.'s business was able to profit from its sale rather than die because of it.<sup>71</sup>

#### OTHER INTERESTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

As the Provo Pottery grew from its humble beginnings in 1874 into "the leading pottery in the state," E. C. also grew from a young Danish immigrant to a respected member of the community. One account referred to him as "one of Provo's most wide-awake and progressive citizens. Beginning with little or nothing he has built up two fine business houses and has been one of the substantial and influential business men of the county."<sup>72</sup> Among his other accomplishments, he served two terms as a city councilman (1890-91 and 1892-93) and as

<sup>69</sup>E. C. Henrichsen Diary in possession of LaVon H. Jones.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid.

<sup>71</sup>Jensen, *History of Provo*, pp. 290-91.

<sup>72</sup>*Portrait*, p. 440.

acting mayor during the absence of Mayor Warren E. Dusenberry; ran for the office of postmaster;<sup>73</sup> and "was one of the first to advocate the building of the Franklin public school, and stood firmly by the committee which presented the matter to the Board of Education, being himself the Chairman of that committee."<sup>74</sup> He was also one of the organizers of the Provo Chamber of Commerce and served as a director of the Provo Street Railway Company. Additionally he was involved in the Provo Opera House. He "commanded the confidence, good will and high respect of all who kn[e]w him,"<sup>75</sup> and of him it was said, "No cause that has for its object the welfare and upbuilding of the city seeks his aid in vain."<sup>76</sup> His civic awareness was not necessarily unusual. Other Utah potters were often leaders and responsible citizens of their communities.

### CLOSING THE PROVO POTTERY

By installing the flower-pot stamping machine, adding new product lines, and supplementing the locally made redware with imported stoneware E. C. was able to maintain a strong pottery trade until his health began to fail near the age of eighty. He considered further modernization of his facilities by converting his kiln to gas fuel but decided against the investment.<sup>77</sup> One of his sons, [Willy Jacob, assisted by young Paul Henrichsen], "took over the shop and carried on for a while but his interest wasn't that of [E. C.], so [in 1927] it finally shut down completely."<sup>78</sup> Crockery was no longer as necessary as it had been in the past nor were his sons inclined to operate the pottery. It was hard work and did not hold the prestige that it once did. On August 6, 1930, at the age of eighty-two, E. C. Henrichsen passed away. The land on which the pottery stood was sold, and homes were built in its place. Now all that is left of the Provo Pottery Company are a few pots and the memory of the man who made them, E. C. Henrichsen.

### III

The coming of the railroad played a role in the decline of Utah's pottery industry, but it was not the only or even greatest factor. The re-

<sup>73</sup>Jones, "Historical Sketch," p. 4.

<sup>74</sup>*Portrait*, p. 440.

<sup>75</sup>Noble Warrum, *Utah Since Statehood*, 4 vols. (Chicago and Salt Lake City: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1919), 3:559.

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup>Jones, "Historical Sketch," p. 10.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*

ality is that more than a dozen Utah potteries flourished during the post-railroad era (see Utah potters chart), the Provo Pottery being the most notable example. Niels Jensen's three apprentices each ran their own shops until their retirement: Ferdinand Hansen in Brigham City until 1880, Frederick Peterson in Salt Lake City until 1888, and James Hansen in Hyrum until a little beyond 1909. Horace Roberts's son Ephraim opened a pottery in Naples (near Vernal) in 1893 to supply crockery to the new settlements of the Uinta Basin. It was discontinued in 1896. Levi and Jerome Roberts ran a shop in Ogden until 1879 when it burned down. Jonah Croxall and John Cartwright managed the City Pottery in Salt Lake City until 1878 when they joined forces with James and Bedson Eardley, proprietors of the Seventh Ward Pottery. Together they continued in business until around 1890. John Eardley established potteries in both St. George and Beaver that ran into the 1890s. William and Benjamin Blake made pottery in Salt Lake City from 1885 to 1899. The Ogden Pottery Company, incorporated in 1899, had high expectations "to control the trade of the entire intermountain region before long."<sup>79</sup> In short, much more pottery was produced in Utah during the twenty years following the railroad than in the two decades preceding it.

The average closing date of Utah potteries falls between 1885 and 1890. The closing often seems to have occurred because of the age of the potter rather than outside competition. Still, the business was dying or younger workers would have continued the trade. Two other factors contributing to the closings were the reduced rate of population growth and the durability of earthenware. The population explosion of the territory slowed down during the 1880s and 1890s as the gathering of new converts decreased. There were fewer new settlers in need of furnishing a home with household goods, and the existing supplies of crockery in homes lasted for years. As a result, the market for new pottery decreased.

The pottery imported by rail was not the same as the earthenware produced by Utah potters, for it included new, improved products. Fine white china was never produced in Utah, but it had been shipped to Utah by wagon since 1848 and had always sold well. Freightng goods by wagon was a big business and had developed over the years into a more efficient operation than is commonly thought. Nor were the people of Utah as landlocked and isolated as many imagine. It was

<sup>79</sup>*Deseret News*, March 25, 1899.

not uncommon for a Mormon pioneer to cross the continent to the eastern states or to Europe several times in his life. Also, the Mormon ideals of self-sufficiency and local manufacturing continued strong in Utah through the achievement of statehood in 1896. So, while it is true that the railroad did reduce the time and expense of shipping goods, an imported article did not compete well unless it was considerably less expensive or of notably higher quality than locally produced goods.

New materials and mass-production manufacturing methods that improved the quality of an article as well as decreasing its price were more significant factors than the railroad alone. The demand for utilitarian crockery decreased in all regions of the U.S. during the late nineteenth century, though this kind of crockery continued to be produced by hand in Utah for a few years after mechanical means were common in the eastern states. Thus, the demise of the Utah pottery industry seems to have been the natural result of the invention and manufacture of new products that changed the traditional use of pottery elsewhere, as well as in Utah. If the transcontinental railroad had not been completed until later, these new products would still have been shipped to Utah by wagon and would have replaced crockery. Consequently, pottery production in Utah would have ceased at about the same time.

A technical concern arose in the late 1870s that affected the production of earthenware. Lead-based glazes were the most common type used in the nineteenth century. They were simple to produce and had the advantage of firing at a relatively low temperature (790 C.-1120 C.). The disadvantage was that they were very toxic. As this became known, local publications began to warn the people of the problem. The *Deseret News* noted in 1878:

Caution.—Most of the glazes upon common pottery ware are produced by lead, which decomposes by the action of vinegar. In consequence of this, care should always be taken never to use lead glazed jars to keep pickles in, the decomposed metal named being in a high degree poisonous. Our home potters should never use lead for glazing their wares.<sup>80</sup>

The *Juvenile Instructor* also informed the public: "Lead in any form is dangerous to be about our habitations. In our households, when it enters into the composition of glazes of earthen ware, it may become soluble in food prepared in such vessels."<sup>81</sup> The concern about lead gave the consumer a new reason to consider purchasing imported ware

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., February 4, 1878.

<sup>81</sup>*Juvenile Instructor*, March 15, 1878.



Figure 34. Patented glass fruit canning jar.

made in larger plants that could afford the equipment to create lead-free crockery or radically different products that served the same purpose. Some of the potters in Utah closed down around this date, possibly because they did not have the means to produce lead-free glazes. Others continued using lead glazes in spite of the problem. A few, including E. C. Henrichsen, were able to continue production successfully without the use of lead.

The late nineteenth-century science that discovered the problem with lead also was responsible for other discoveries that resulted in the development of products that made utilitarian household crockery obsolete, turning it into a decorative art. In the early 1880s storage canisters made of decorative japanned tinware became plentiful.<sup>82</sup> This tinware was lighter, less expensive, and, to the nineteenth-century housewife's eyes, prettier than the old earthenware storage crocks. The same was true of graniteware (enamel-coated metal) that could also be used in cooking. The 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition credited it with "the advantages of glass with the strength of metal. It was proclaimed to be light, elegant, clean, and everlasting," and, perhaps most important, free from lead and unaffected by acid foods.<sup>83</sup>

The innovation that finally spelled doom for kitchen crockery was the canning jar (figure 34). It solved the concern about lead poison-

<sup>82</sup>Louise K. Lantz, *Old American Kitchenware, 1725-1925* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, Inc., 1970), p. 226.

<sup>83</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 107.

ing, allowed the user to see the contents, was simpler to use and more effective, and cost much less. The hand-blown glass fruit jar was patented in 1858 by John Landis Mason, but its use did not become widespread until its production was mechanized in the 1890s:

In 1889 Ball patented and started to use a semi-automatic glass blowing machine known as the "F.C. Ball Machine." This was one of the first semi-automatic machines to go into operation in this country and it gradually replaced the glass blower who worked with individual hand-held molds. The first fully automatic glass machines came into use in the early 1900's.<sup>84</sup>

By this date carloads of the lightweight Mason jars were being shipped by rail to Utah, making their way to the most remote settlements of the state. Economics in some locations caused a slight time lag, but people were anxious to cast aside the old pioneer image and tools, purchasing these new items as soon as they could afford them. One by one the old crockery jars were emptied, never to be refilled again.

### CONCLUSION

The Mormon pioneers challenged themselves with a grand vision. Though the early expectations of the British potters exceeded the capabilities of their resources, the simpler hand-production methods of the Danes were successful in the remote Mormon settlements. These potters concentrated primarily on supplying the utilitarian needs of the settlers, so Brigham Young's desire to produce fine white china was not realized. It is significant, though, that this industry was much more successful than other pioneer ventures such as iron, silk, and sugar production, and eventually a large centralized pottery industry did prosper, supplying mass-produced ware to the whole territory.

### UTAH POTTERS

#### *British Potters*

#### Early Salt Lake City Pottery 1848-49

F. Pullin, E. Tomkinson, E. K. Fuller, T. Ralphs, R. Hewitt

#### Deseret Pottery, Salt Lake City, 1849-53

E. Tomkinson, T. Ralphs, A. Cordon, R. Steele, R. Hewitt

#### Fillmore Pottery, 1852, 1853-ca. 1857

E. Tomkinson, Ralph & James Rowley

<sup>84</sup>Dale Berge, *Simpson Springs Station Historical Archeology in Western Utah* (Salt Lake City: Bureau of Land Management, 1980), p. 101.

Parowan, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858-ca. 1863

Thomas Davenport

Cannon & Eardley Bros., Salt Lake City, 1861-63

A. Cannon & James, John, & Bedson Eardley

Deseret Pottery, Salt Lake City, 1863-68

James, John, & Bedson Eardley, & T. Latimer

Seventh Ward Pottery, Salt Lake City, 1868-78

James & Bedson Eardley, & George Hill

City Pottery, Salt Lake City, 1862-78

J. Croxall & J. Cartwright

City Pottery, Salt Lake City, 1878-86, 1888

J. Croxall, J. Cartwright, James & Bedson Eardley

Dixie Pottery, St. George, 1867-ca. 92

John Eardley

Beaver City Pottery, 1887-ca. 90

John Eardley

Northern Pottery, Ogden, ca. 1863-ca. 1866

J. W. Simpson & J. T. Lewis

Toronto Pottery, Salt Lake City, 1st Ave., ca. 1870

Carl Green

Blake & Sons, Salt Lake City, First Ward,

William Blake, 1885-91

Benjamin Blake, 1888-98

Salt Lake City, ca. 1869

M. Allwood

#### *Danish Potters*

Salt Lake City Second Ward Pottery, 1853-58

Niels Jensen, F. Petersen, F. Hansen, J. Hansen

Frederick Petersen, Salt Lake City, Second Ward, 1860-88

Brigham City Pottery, 1855, 1856-73

Ferdinand Hansen

Brigham City Co-op, 1873-78, 1879, 1880

Ferdinand Hansen

Hyrum City Pottery, ca. 1860-1906 + ?, 1909

James Hansen, Lars Norden, & Peter Petersen

Fort Ephraim Pottery

Jens & Nils Sorensen, ca. 1860-61 + ?

Wilhelm F. O. Behrman, ca. 1870-71 + ?

M. A. Hansen, ca. 1880-81 + ?

Fountain Green Pottery, 1872

E. C. & S. A. Henrichsen

Henrichsen Brothers, Provo, 1872-74

E. C. & S. A. Henrichsen

Provo Pottery, 1874-1927

E. C. Henrichsen, A. Ericksen, A. & C. Green

Salt Lake City, ca. 1860-61

Geger Jensen

Sugar House Pottery, ca. 1870-71

John Peterson

*American-born Potters*

Roberts Pottery, Provo, ca. 1852-55

Horace, Ephraim, Levi, & William Roberts

Zions Co-operative Pottery, Provo, 1855-ca. 1866

Horace & Ephraim Roberts

Old Provo Pottery, 1867-ca. 1873?

Levi & William Roberts, & A. H. Bowen

Logan City Pottery, 1874-79

Levi & Jerome Roberts

Naples Pottery (Vernal), 1893-98

Ephraim Roberts

Ogden Pottery, 1853-ca. 1855

Matthew Dalton

Springville Road Pottery, ca. 1897

John McCloskey

Ogden Pottery Company, 1899 + ?

Smith, Smith, Ramsey, Hunter, & Kennedy

An inventory of the Utah-made pottery preserved by several museums and private collections and a review of period advertisements led to the following conclusions about the types of ware made by Utah potters: The most common item made was the wide-mouth storage jar. It was generally used for pickling. Sometimes dry goods were kept in the larger crocks to protect them from rodents and vermin. Jars with smaller openings were used primarily to preserve fruits. The second most numerous item was a large, flat-bottom bowl commonly referred to as a milk pan or basin. It allowed fresh milk to cool quickly and made it easy to skim the separated cream from the surface. Such bowls were also used as wash basins or mixing bowls for bread or for other food preparation. Less numerous were pitchers and jugs, though they were made by almost every potter. Churns are often mentioned but are rarely found, due perhaps to the fact that churn lids could be used on standard crocks. Chamber pots and bedpans seem to have been an entirely imported item, but this was also a typical use for many generic pots. Specialty items like butter molds, umbrella stands, and foot warmers are even more rare but are occasionally listed as being made.



## Book Reviews

*Emily-George*. By HELEN Z. PAPANIKOLAS. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987. xiv + 327 pp. \$19.95.)

Helen Papanikolas has fashioned a miraculous book, it seems to me. It combines the genres of history, biography, memoir, and personal essay with the narrative flow and descriptive power of a novel. By telling the story of her own childhood first and describing how it led her to search out the facts of her parents' lives, she sets the stage for a drama that explores the forces of Greek immigration to Utah. She is elegiac in her descriptions of landscape, realistic in her portrayal of the lives of migrant workers, emotionally vivid in her portrayal of women's work and women's sorrows. By staying with the concrete realities of individual lives set against a background of war, poverty, and the human striving for the good life, she lights up a fascinating corner of history. But she does more than that. She brings her parents and their compatriots to life with their suffering, their songs, their gritty independence, their superstitions, their deep religious faith.

Papanikolas has spent many years writing and editing books about her Greek forebears and other ethnic settlements in Utah, including the well-known *Peoples of Utah*, which she edited for the Utah State Historical Society in 1976. Now in this third volume of the Utah Centennial Series, published by the University of Utah, she is justly praised by series editor Charles S. Peterson: "No other historian has rec-

ognized the broad impact of Utah's migration as has Helen Zeese Papanikolas. . . . She writes in elegant prose which presents but still retains the precision of statement so essential to good historical writing. . . . In many sections the book reaches beyond the conventions of history probing deeply into human emotions and personal experience" (pp. ix-xi).

In re-creating the colors, the sounds, the smells of her childhood in Helper, Utah, a town full of ethnic conflicts and the tragedies of the mining life, she makes the reader care about her parents' beginnings in far-off Greece and Constantinople. She describes her motivations: "My children were grown, parents themselves, living away. I often looked at my parents, sad and frustrated that I knew so little about them. . . . I asked them questions. They answered readily, surprised at my interest. And I was surprised at their inner life, at how deeply my mother had been stirred by colors, hues, scents, the tone of voices; at how sharp the rage still was in my father at the poverty of his village and what it had done to people's lives and characters" (p. 53).

How fortunate that Papanikolas had the sense to embark on this journey while her parents were still alive to provide impetus for it. From these conversations, she went on to "fill several notebooks" and to write down incidents that her father and his brother

told her husband, "stories they would never tell a woman." She and her husband traveled first in Utah to seek out the places where her father had worked and her mother had kept house, recording the oral traditions of a people. They traveled to Greece and found her parents' people. The terrain was familiar, not only because of her parents' stories but because it reminded her of Utah. They also visited exotic Constantinople where her mother grew to young womanhood. After four visits she was ready to write.

And what writing it is! Papanikolas has entered the minds and hearts of her parents and their people so that the reader covers broad distances in a few seconds in a kind of time warp, distances of the spirit as well as the land. Somehow "Yoryis and Emilia" found the courage to leave their impoverished villages, to enter into an arranged marriage—arranged by friends and by chance—and to survive a barrage of hardship, not only to survive but to prevail through a flintlike tenacity that matched the rocky faces of their Greek villages and their adopted Utah towns.

Even after they became "Emily and George" they had preserved their culture and their belief system. But they were also grateful for their adopted land. Between the Second World War and the ensuing Greek civil war, they returned to Greece, intending to stay four months. But "in a few weeks, they were back. It was no longer the country they had left. They found faults, compared it to America, found it lacking. It would always be their mother country but they preferred America" (p. 310).

Papanikolas takes us back into the history of Greece and its clans, especially the one that became "Zeese" in America, whose name meant "long-lived," whose tall warriors had fought

for independence from the Turks. She traces their genetic traits in her father, who lived to be ninety-seven, and sketches his country's bankruptcy that drove him to seek sustenance and money enough to send home for his sisters' dowries. She describes the clan's return to an impoverished village in central Greece—Klepa—named after a clan that fought the revolution and took to the mountains where they harassed the Turks and were marked as brigands by a government that set a price on their heads. The times, the superstitions—which included the ritual murder of sisters by brothers who had found them in adultery—old songs and chants that held the villagers together, and the Greek Orthodox religion with its powerful priests and icons are vividly portrayed.

Because Yoryis was the son of a self-taught lawyer and judge who was also a storyteller, his education was superior to some of the other villagers, and his life story richer. His daughter recounts this richness in ways too numerous to relate here but well worth the reader's time. She evokes a whole culture, the end of which she laments: "I think as I drive home how quickly immigrant life vanished. Greek towns long since gone, the young matriarchs and patriarchs sick to death or dead already" (p. 321).

Yoryis was not to meet his bride for many years, after a back-breaking series of jobs in America on railroad, sewer, and other labor gangs across the country. He had arrived in the West with an ambition to open his own coffee house for the workers. Greek men, lonely for their homeland with or without women, had formed the habit of meeting in coffee houses to eat, to talk, to fight, sometimes to sleep. They were a Greek haven in a strange land. When word of Emilia's arrival reached him, he was ready to propose marriage on

the first meeting. And Emilia, after a harrowing train ride from New York and Ellis Island, was ready to accept.

Long ago in her village on the plains of Macedonia she had formed a longing for America. But she was always to preserve in her person the colorful feasts of Ramadan, "the joyous din floating with the breeze to her two-story rock house," along with patriotism for the exiled Greeks and the rigid male-female customs that would seem regressive in America. By the time she was old enough to go into domestic service with a family in the ancient holy city of Constantinople, she had formulated her plan to leave. That a young woman so carefully trained in the submissive ways of women could find this courage was remarkable. Trembling at the enormity of it, she bade goodbye to her village, her family, and her employers—who were surprisingly helpful. Three weeks later, she arrived on Ellis Island where a Greek woman journalist put her on a train for the West, informed her that a banker would meet her there to arrange for her housing and to help her find a husband among immigrant miners and

railroad workers. Thus did she arrive in Salt Lake City and her *kismet*.

Papanikolas describes her mother in her later years: "She had gone through life in an invisible shell that kept her as she had been since a child. Her ideas, old-country culture, her personality had not been touched by the passing years, change, or country, that evolution of girl-woman-wife-grandmother-great-grandmother" (p. 317).

By evoking her parents' lives Papanikolas succeeds in preserving that vanished immigrant life she laments. She also presents a model for others who long to know themselves through knowing their parents. The humility with which she admits to mysteries that she will probably never solve is to her credit. Having recently lost my own parents, I found that her wrenching essay at the end of the book activated my own griefs and regrets in a way that has enhanced my healing process. An excellent use for a book like this!

*Emily-George* satisfies on many levels, both scholarly and personal.

MARY LYTHGOE BRADFORD  
Arlington, Virginia

*Utah's Historic Architecture, 1847-1940: A Guide.* By THOMAS CARTER and PETER GOSS.  
(Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988. viii + 192 pp. Paper, \$36.00.)

Thomas Carter and Peter Goss are to be complimented for their efforts in providing a more complete visual reference to Utah's architecture. *Utah's Historic Architecture* is a significant improvement over previous publications of this type. It is long overdue and should be accepted by both amateur and professional as a valuable reference book.

The authors were singular in their objective to publish only an architectural guide, not to write a comprehensive history of Utah architecture. The book simply points out that "architec-

ture in Utah represents a continuation of broader American patterns." *A Guide*, in the full title, best describes the specific intent of the book.

In their introduction the authors make an effort to define the problems that exist with identifying buildings as to type and classification according to style. Their discussion and use of a typological/stylistic classification system help explain the attention given to family dwellings (house types) in the first third of the book. It also helps mitigate what is an abrupt transition to more traditional style groupings—

commercial and public, Classical, Victorian buildings, etc.

The book appears to be more a synthesis of existing style guides and classification systems than an original work. Yet, this seems to be the nature of such books since Marcus Whiffen first published his general guide, *American Architecture Since 1780: A Guide to Styles*, in 1969.

The excellent selection, quality, and number of photographs is the primary strength of the book. It contains over 300 high quality photographs and nearly 200 plans and general arrangement drawings. Unfortunately, some of the plans and drawings are no more than refined sketches. This is particularly bothersome given the quality of the finished plans and line drawings used in the section on house types. The glossary exhibits the same inconsistencies, along with the added distraction of having a few photographs used in place of more appropriate line drawings. Where fine line drawings are used, it is important to maintain a consistent standard of quality throughout for overall unity.

The other major flaw is in the area of design layout. Subtle changes could have significantly enhanced its visual appeal and subsequently its marketability. It is just too standard and unimaginative.

The book would have been more significant to the general observer had the authors carried the *concept* of the stylistic metamorphosis of the Queen Anne style found in the introduction into the main body of the book. Instead, they resorted to the long established high style approach. This was a missed opportunity to make an even greater contribution to guide-book types.

*Utah's Historic Architecture* remains an excellent book given the specific intentions of the authors. Its major contributions are its excellent illustrations and the synthesis of the best aspects of existing classification systems. What faults do exist can be rectified in a subsequent edition.

C. MARK HAMILTON  
Brigham Young University

*A Sermon in the Desert: Belief and Behavior in Early St. George, Utah.* By LARRY M. LOGUE. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988. xiv + 165 pp. \$19.95.)

Every few decades the discipline of history is challenged by a new theory or a new school of thought such as the rise of the scientific school of history in the early nineteenth century by Leopold von Ranke or the economic interpretation of history in the early twentieth century by Charles Beard. That same kind of fundamental challenge is afoot in the discipline now as the advocates of social history (the Annales School) attempt to alter the whole approach to thinking about the past. Instead of considering the leaders and decision-making, social historians advocate looking at the plain people: their

daily labor, diet, folk beliefs, kinship systems, marriage patterns, and access to property ownership. Instead of reading the minutes of meetings, social historians explore the manuscript census.

This book by Larry Logue is in some ways the most important study about Utah history in many years because it is the first book-length work by a historian using the social history methodologies. It joins the articles by Dean May, Ben Bennion, and Charles Hatch who have examined Kanab, Sanpete, and Cache Valley respectively. That this book is about St.

George is only incidental. What is more important is that it employs exemplary methodology that will have lasting impact. The work deserves immediate attention by all students of Utah history.

The layman who enjoys narratives and vignettes will have to work at this book. The author does kindly begin with two narrative chapters before moving to the more quantitative content. But the effort any reader puts into this short book will be worthwhile.

So what does this new approach with its charts and formulas and statistics glean from the minutia of the masses? Does it confirm what traditional approaches have established or do we have to revise our thinking? First of all, Logue examines the belief system of the Mormons in a different way. He asks how the folk beliefs of the St. George pioneers contrasted with the official doctrine. What a refreshing question. And the answer—based on wide reading in pioneer journals: there was amazing congruence. Yes, there were some local twists, but in general the Dixie Saints stuck it out in blistering austerity because they really believed in building a kingdom of God in the desert.

Logue set out to study a people under stress. He felt the strong dogma and the severe geography in St. George would be a classic case. As he looked at the birth-life-death cycle in St. George he found that the people were amazingly optimistic, driven by their euphoric beliefs. They sired children to the very end of their biological capacities; the severity of the life struggle in the desert did not diminish their commitment. Survival of the offspring, however, was another matter. Children died in their first year at about the same rate as the nation but they died much more in the following four years. Logue suggests that when breast feed-

ing ended, the babies had to drink the polluted waters and many did not survive. Following the fifth birthday a child was generally assured of living to a ripe age well beyond sixty; the men actually outlived the women.

The most surprising data this book produces is about polygamy in St. George. May and Bennion have already shown by careful research that polygamous marriages elsewhere in Utah made up a higher percentage of the populace than has long been suspected. But now Logue shows that "over 34 percent of all 'eligible' households were polygamous in 1870 and nearly two in five in 1880" (p. 49). He continues, "Almost two-thirds of all wives' experience in the town was in plural marriages, as were half of all child-years." He concludes that polygamous marriages were preferred by the general populace, even adding that there was a bride shortage. This caused young women to be sought after at younger ages which then led to them having children for longer periods and even produced a surprising statistic—that polygamous marriages in St. George produced more children than monogamous ones, something quite different from other parts of the state.

Some ideas that Logue employs are beyond the safety of his census data, and there he is a bit shaky. For example, he postulates that the motivation of converts to join the Mormon faith in Europe and America was a desire for authority, the anticipation of being in a more structured society. That is an intriguing idea, but the author uses only his own impression to justify it. He is much better when he stays near his data, showing, for example, that though harmony was the goal of the society, the pioneer journals record a normal amount of contention in St. George. Similarly, he shows that

even though people in St. George had a firm anticipation of salvation after death, they grieved about deaths in the same way that other Americans did. He made some fascinating comparisons with the daily life of St. George people with those in Philadelphia at the same time. Why Philadelphia? Because a major quantitative study of plain folks in that city exists for the corresponding decades.

All in all, Logue shows that the

Mormon community bonding was vibrant in early St. George, and he shows it to us with an authority never before attempted. That a scholar with no personal ties to this culture could master these data with such finesse is indeed impressive. Beyond that, he has shown that the new methodology is promising.

DOUGLAS D. ALDER  
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*Marks in Place: Contemporary Responses to Rock Art.* Photographs by LINDA CONNOR et al. Essays by POLLY SCHAAFSMA and KEITH DAVIS. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988. xii + 133 pp. Cloth, \$45.00; paper, \$24.95.)

*Marks in Place* is a collection of the works of five artists—Linda Connor, Rick Dingus, Steve Fitch, John Pfhal, and Charles Roitz, each of whom contributed a short essay and a group of photographs. There is also a foreword by Lucy Lippard and a short article by Polly Schaafsma, a well-known rock art researcher, and Keith Davis, curator of the fine arts collection at Hallmark Cards, Kansas City.

*Marks in Place* purports to enlighten the general public concerning the relevance prehistoric rock art has for the contemporary artist. More succinctly its claim is to provide an answer to what it tries to convince us is a "pointed and sensible question" that "needs to be asked": What does a modern artist think about when looking at prehistoric marks on rocks? To answer this question the artists attempted to capture the expressions of their feelings in photographs of rock art sites and write about their emotional experiences relating to the places they photographed. What resulted from this is truly a catastrophe. What is responsible for this is an underlying theme throughout the book of an admitted disinterest in the value of the

scientific study of rock art: "I am comfortable with not knowing"—Connor. ". . . They know little about the rock art they pursue and don't *want* to get into the 'intellectual stuff. . . . If the power's there, you'll feel it,' says Roitz"—(Lippard). There exists in these writings almost a contempt for scientific research. These modern artists are of the opinion that science ignores the aesthetics of rock art, i.e., scientists do not record the emotional impact—the mysterious psychic interaction the human mind experiences when seeing rock art—"the glimpses that usually remain below the threshold of conscious perception"—Dingus. Therefore, since science is deficient, the artists are justified in doing whatever their uninformed imagination dictates to capture on film that mysterious feeling that rock art elicits in them.

Steve Fitch, in his attempt to do this, built bonfires in front of rock art panels. He then photographed them with the light from the fire. His reason? "To . . . transform a fire into a sort of eternal glow." His ignorance and contempt of scientific principles, as well as total disregard for National Park Ser-

vice and Bureau of Land Management regulations, led to the destruction of scientific information at these sites—destruction that is equivalent to vandalism. Smoke from the fires deposited soot and ash (carbon) on the figures—some maybe 2,000 years old. Not only did this dull the rock art, but the contamination eliminated any possibility of obtaining radiocarbon dates from pigment analysis. Additionally, the heat of the fire destroyed any possibility of determining associated occupation dates by archeomagnetic analysis. When a fire is built on the ground the heated molecules of the clay in the soil align with magnetic north. Since the position of the magnetic north pole is constantly changing and its course is accurately known for thousands of years an analysis will determine when that fire was built. But once another fire is built over it the previous molecular arrangement is destroyed, and the information lost forever. In Utah, Fitch built fires in Barrier Canyon under the Great Gallery, at Kane Springs near Moab, in Grand Gulch under the best Anasazi Basketmaker panel in the canyon, at McKee Springs near Dinosaur National Park, at the Rochester Creek panel, and in Sego Canyon. And these are only the photographs he published. How many other rock art panels were vandalized? We have suffered a great loss from Fitch's actions, but the greatest tragedy of all is that Fitch's photographs will encourage others to do the same thing, resulting

in even more destruction to our archaeological resources—"By sharing our photographs we hope to do more than simply share our experience—we hope to invite others to participate. . . ."

Another artist, Rick Dingus, published photographs that look like a two-year-old child scribbled over them with a pencil. His explanation? ". . . My hand-drawn marks are a spontaneous and gestural counterpoint to the precise, analytical clarity of the camera's recording of external detail. In some ways the marks represent pure energy—lines of force, natural process, and the invisible transforming movements of time." In reality they represent a subconscious desire to destroy, to vandalize, that which we don't understand. The reader is forced to suffer through twenty photographs of horribly mutilated appearing prehistoric rock art panels. How long will it be before someone viewing these "photodrawings" attempts to do the same thing to real rock art sites?

Clearly this book was published without any real thought concerning the consequences. The best thing that could happen for the rock art would be for the University of New Mexico Press to pull *Marks in Place* from distribution. It *never* should have been published.

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Salt Lake City

*History of Nevada.* By RUSSELL R. ELLIOTT with the assistance of WILLIAM D. ROWLEY. (2nd ed., rev.; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987. xiv + 427pp. Cloth, \$26.95; paper, \$13.95.)

Russell Elliott remains the premier historian of the state of Nevada. An emeritus professor at the University of Nevada-Reno, he trained many of the scholars working in the field today and

has had a strong influence on nearly everyone else. When his magisterial *History of Nevada* appeared in 1973 it fulfilled a need for an authoritative narrative of the state's history that had

existed since the Thompson and West volume of 1881, written by Myron Angel. There had, of course, been other efforts, most notably by Effie Mona Mack, *Nevada, a History of the State from the Earliest Times through the Civil War* (1936), and James W. Hulse, *The Nevada Adventure: A History* (1965 and subsequent editions), which was designed for the seventh grade Nevada history course. Elliott's volume concentrated on the political and economic development of Nevada with accuracy and sophistication. It has been in constant use for teaching and reference ever since.

When the University of Nebraska Press issued a second revised edition in 1987, Professor William D. Rowley was brought in to assist. The bulk of the text has remained relatively unchanged. Revisions of interpretation do take account of recent scholarship. Perhaps the most dramatic is Elliott's reversal of opinion about Sen. William A. Stewart's role in the rejection of the state constitution of 1863. Like most of his predecessors, Elliott had accepted Mack's placing the senator in the forefront of opposition. In 1979 David A. Johnson very ably demonstrated the error of the received tradition, and Elliott incorporates the revision.

Where the first edition followed the more usual practice of placing stronger

emphasis on the nineteenth-century—with its romantic images of the Comstock, railroads, and sourdoughs—the second gives a more balanced view of the twentieth. Over half the state's recorded history now lies in the present century, and the major developments that have brought the Silver State to where it is today, by and large, began in the 1930s. Not only is the decade-by-decade narrative of political and economic events carried into the 1980s, an entirely new last chapter, "A Social and Cultural Appraisal," provides a perceptive interpretation of Nevada's recent past. It is here that the concerns of contemporary scholarship—the role of women, the preponderant effect of federal ownership of 87 percent of the land, the rapidly changing ethnic and cultural mix, and the amazing growth of Las Vegas—are best incorporated. In particular, much of the strength of the last section is in the directions for further research to which it points. Russell Elliott has many times in the past pointed out fruitful fields for new inquiry. Once again he is looking toward the future. New interpretations are needed to help us understand Nevada's unique experience, and Elliott's *History of Nevada* makes a solid beginning.

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*From the Sands to the Mountain: Change and Persistence in a Southern Paiute Community.* By PAMELA A. BUNTE and ROBERT J. FRANKLIN. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987. xvi + 339 pp. \$22.95.)

This ethnohistorical study is an important addition to our understanding of the Southern Paiutes, Paiute-Navajo relations, and the overwhelming impact of the federal government in every aspect of Native American life. *From the Sands to the Mountain* grew from the authors' dissertations and work in behalf of the San Juan Paiutes' strug-

gle to obtain federal recognition as an independent tribal entity.

Writing an ethnohistory of neglected groups, such as the San Juan Paiutes, is a difficult task. The fragmentary nature of the Indian Affairs' records conspire to tantalize and frustrate the lonely scholar-author. Bunte and Franklin are to be commended for

their dedication to this laborious undertaking and to the San Juan Paiute people.

The authors begin with a brief sketch of Southern Paiute culture prior to white contact. Here they outline the egalitarian nature of Paiute sociopolitical organization while, at the same time, suggesting a strong, clearly defined Paiute governmental structure. Bunte and Franklin follow the trail blazed by Stoffle and Dobyns and, in my opinion, exaggerate the role of the Paiute elders and leaders. Certainly, the amalgamation of shattered groups and the pressures of outside forces are major factors in the development of Paiute leadership.

Chapter two deals with the sociopolitical adaptations of the San Juan Paiutes to both the whites and the increasing pressure of the Navajos in the years between 1776 and 1900. This chapter gives the reader a fair understanding of the Navajo expansion but fails to adequately explain either the presence or the impact of the Mormon settlers.

Chapters three and four trace San Juan history from 1900 to 1984. Chapter three deals with social history and offers us a fascinating view of everyday Paiute life. A puzzling omission is the authors' failure to mention the encounter of Cedar City amateur historian William Palmer with the San Juan Paiutes at Allen Canyon in August 1935. Chapter four investigates the history of the San Juan group and the

federal government. Bunte and Franklin offer an especially interesting account of the Paiute Strip episode.

Chapters five, six, and seven give us a glimpse of modern San Juan Paiute life. This section, based on the authors' ethnographic work, comes closest to bringing the San Juan Paiutes to life. It chronicles their kinship system, religion, and struggles with their Navajo neighbors and associated attorneys. One topic that, to my mind, is not adequately addressed is the San Juan group's fairly recent conversion to Pentecostalism. I would have been very interested in seeing a comparison of the impact of their Pentecostal faith with that of Mormonism on their cousins in Utah.

The major shortcomings of this book stem from the authors' preoccupation with proving Navajo incursions into San Juan territory and also proving the continuity of San Juan leaders and internal political decision-making processes up to the present. This volume never quite outgrows its origins as a document to persuade the federal government that it must recognize the San Juan Paiutes as an independent government. Nevertheless, given this agenda, Bunte and Franklin have produced a skillful work that deserves a very careful reading.

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## Book Notices

*Wild Mustangs.* By PARLEY J. PASKETT.  
(Logan: Utah State University  
Press, 1986. xxi + 121 pp. Paper,  
\$9.95.)

"I was sitting there on a big rock at the edge of a serviceberry patch watching a bunch of wild horses coming in to water. My big gray horse named Dusty was tied back of me among some taller bushes to shield him from sight. I wanted the wild horses to drink their fill before I startled them. In fact, if the black stud we named Butterfly wasn't there I didn't want the wild horses at all." So Paskett begins one of his numerous mustanging exploits. Anyone intrigued by the West's wild mustangs and the era of the large, free-roaming herds will find this Grouse Creek cowboy's account a pleasure to read. These firsthand stories are given a broad historical context in Charles S. Peterson's fine introduction.

*Mining, Smelting, and Railroadng in Tooele County.* Edited by ORRIN P. MILLER. (Tooele, Ut.: Tooele County Historical Society, 1986. xii + 138 pp. \$20.00.)

The industrialization of Tooele County in the early twentieth century increased the population of the city of Tooele from 1,257 in 1900 to 5,135 by 1930. The mining, smelting, and railroadng aspects of development are treated in this large-format book produced by the Tooele County Historical Society.

*Frederick Jackson Turner: Wisconsin's Historian of the Frontier.* Edited by MARTIN RIDGE. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1986. vii + 71 pp. Paper, \$6.95.)

The three major essays reprinted here emphasize Turner's Wisconsin background as a factor in shaping his ideas about the role of the frontier in American history. In addition to Turner's famous and often-reprinted "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," the volume includes Ray Allen Billington's "Young Fred Turner," and an early and unjustly neglected piece of Turner's, "The Significance of History," which appeared in 1891 in an obscure Wisconsin teachers' journal.

*Trail of the First Wagons over the Sierra Nevada.* By CHARLES K. GRAYDON. (Gerald, Mo.: Patrice Press, 1986. ix + 81 pp. \$19.95.)

The principal aim of this handsome, unusually bound book is not to relate in detail the adventures of the first trans-Sierra wagon trains but to tell just enough of their history and to show the exact routes taken that motorists or hikers can follow their pre-gold rush trails. The author, a retired army colonel and a noted cross-country skier, uses highly detailed maps and explanatory text to lead present-day trekkers to the "Truckee route" used by those early pioneers to cross Donner, Cold Stream, and Roller passes.

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